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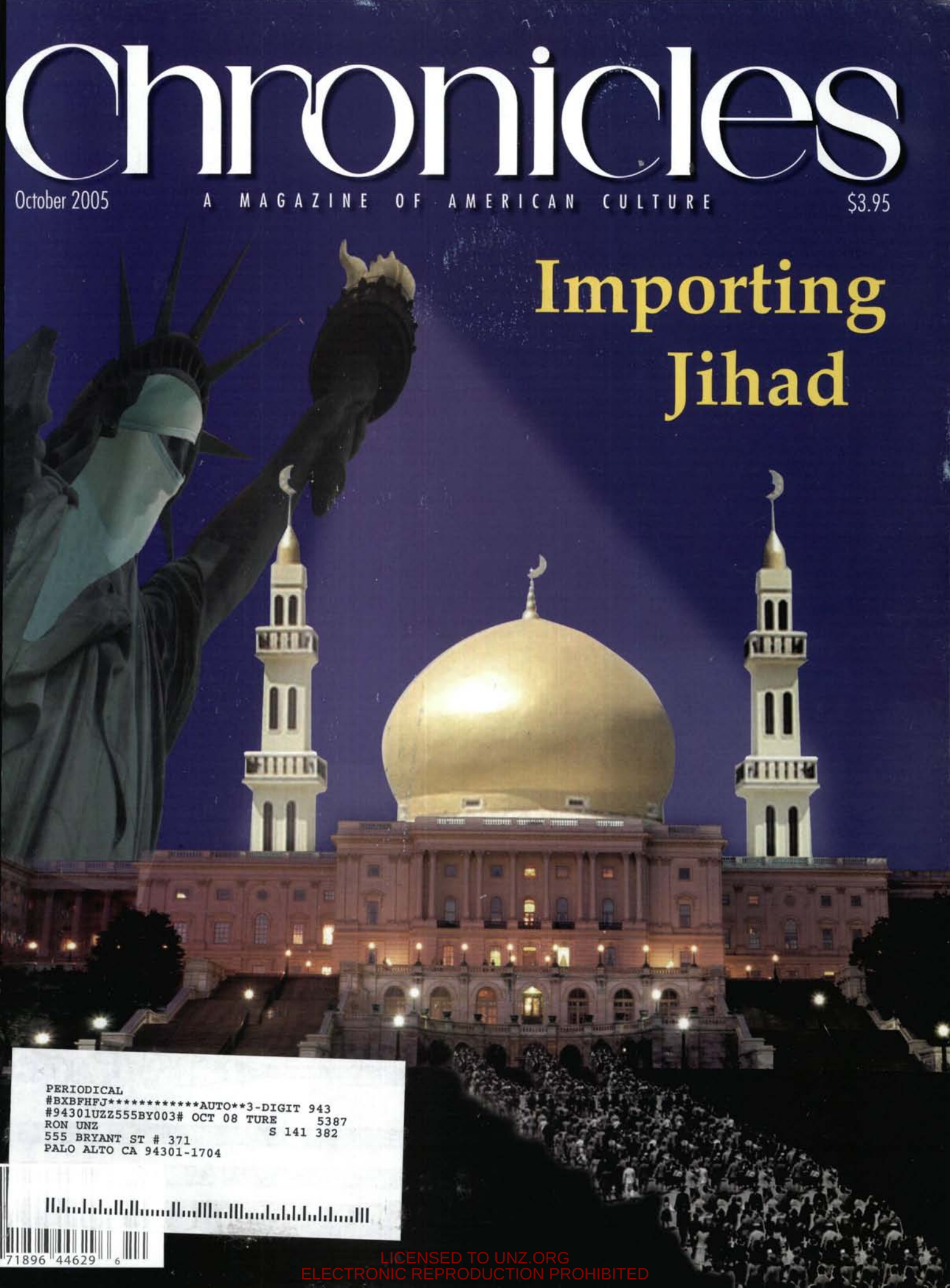

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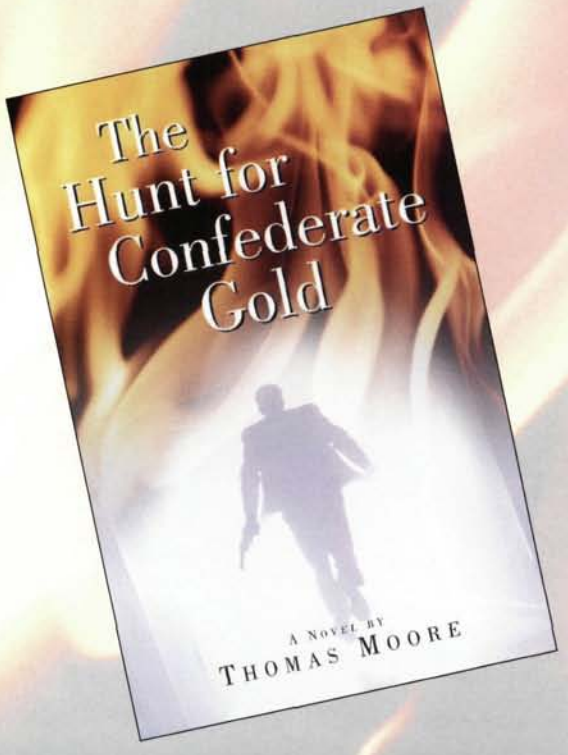

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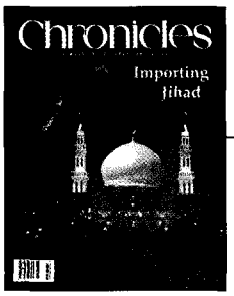

PERSPECTIVE

Christians Against Terrorism 10
by Thomas Fleming

Counterterrorism is hell.

VIEWS

Promoting Militant Islam Abroad 14
by Ronald L. Hatchett
U.S. policy blunders.

Learning From Canada's Mistakes 17
by James Bissett
Terror along the border.

Welcoming Muhammad 20
by Scott P. Richert
Abandoning that which is our own.

NEWS

Rivers of Blood 24
by Richard Cummings
Immigration and terror in a time of chaos.

The Dishonest Pursuit of War 28
by Doug Bandow
Remembering Downing Street.

The Lone Ranger's Legacy 30
by William J. Watkins, Jr.
Chief Justice William Rehnquist, R.I.P.

REVIEWS

Progress in the Sands 32
by Daniel McCarthy

Robert W. Merry: *Sands of Empire*

Paul Gottfried on Jürgen Elsässer's *Wie der Daschihad nach Europa kam* ◆ **Catharine Savage Brosman** on Louis Auchincloss's *Writers and Personality* ◆ **Gregory J. Sullivan** on John L. Allen's *The Rise of Benedict XVI* ◆ **Clyde Wilson** on Walter Brian Cisco's *Wade Hampton: Confederate Warrior, Conservative Statesman* and Kent Masterson Brown's *Retreat From Gettysburg* ◆ 35

CORRESPONDENCE

Letter From Spain: Death in the Afternoon 40
by Christie Davies

Letter From Charleston: The Flamingo Kid 42
by Jack Trotter

VITAL SIGNS

TERRORISM: **Grasping the Inexplicable** 48
by James George Jatras

IMMIGRATION: **Losing the "War on Terror" at the Border** 50
by Wayne Allensworth

CHRISTIANITY: **Episcopalians Go Interfaith** 51
by Mark Tooley

COLUMNS

THE WESTERN FRONT 13
by Paul Gottfried

PUBLIC PLUNDER 45
by David A. Hartman

THE AMERICAN INTEREST 46
by Srdja Trifkovic

IN THE DARK 54
Hustle and Flow
by George McCartney

THE HUNDREDTH MERIDIAN 56
by Chilton Williamson, Jr.

THE BEST REVENGE 58
by Christopher Check

DEPARTMENTS

POLEMICS & EXCHANGES 4

AMERICAN PROSCENIUM 6

CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS 8

POETRY
You, William Dunbar 12
Angst by Constance Rowell Mastores 16

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POLEMICS & EXCHANGES

On Today's Heroes

In "A Place to Stand" (*Views*, July), Wayne Allensworth asks, "How will our sons become men in the bureaucratized, risk-averse, feminist post-America our elites envision for us?" Certainly, this is a grave concern for anyone thinking clearly about our nation's future. One can add a concern about how our daughters will become women, and how our children will become sound leaders.

Houston, Crockett, Bowie, and Travis became men and heroes at the Alamo, and we know about them because they were written about as such. Tom Brokaw wrote about unsung heroes of the "greatest generation." My father, Neil G. McLane, was a part of that generation, a young 1st lieutenant who led his men onto the beaches of Normandy, through battles such as Hurtgen Forest and the Battle of the Bulge. He held many of the young men he led in his arms as they died, and he himself was injured three times and sent back to the front. I know unsung American heroes of the Korean War, and especially of the Vietnam War. They were not recognized for their valor, even though they were as patriotic and heroic as those at the Alamo. Their wars were not "good" wars.

Now we have American heroes being made every day in Iraq and Afghanistan, both men and women. We are not hearing the stories of these courageous, tough, patriotic Americans. Their stories could promote the ideals Mr. Allensworth ascribes to those American legends. Would *Chronicles* be willing to publish articles on a regular basis about individuals currently fighting our wars? Or do we not want to hear their stories because we do not condone the wars they are ordered to fight? Americans go to war risking their lives for their loved ones and their country because they believe in America, and they believe that people of other countries deserve a chance at some of what we enjoy. What a contrast with the narcissistic suicide bombers who do what they do so that they might attain instant gratification in their concept of heaven. We need to sing loudly the songs of the former to drown out the evil of the latter.

—*Norma McLane Haan*
Sioux Falls, SD

Mr. Allensworth Replies:

After reading Norma Haan's letter, I was, for a time, at a loss about how to reply. I can hear the voice of many of my own friends and relatives in her words.

My article had as much to do with the character of frontier America's men—idealized in the mythic stories of the Texas heroes I described—as the physical courage they showed in battle. It is very hard for me to imagine the independence of spirit of such men ever developing in the postmodern America we now live in, where what were once considered normal masculine traits are all but illegal and the masculine role in society and family is so denigrated. A decade in Washington's bureaucracy showed me that there are still good men out there, but the common tendency to duck and run to save one's pension is part of a prevalent culture of servility.

As far as America's service personnel, there is no reason not to celebrate heroism, even in a bad cause. America is in such a state that wartime is one of the few opportunities normal people have to express their patriotism. We are simply not allowed to otherwise. That is dangerous, for normal patriotism can easily be transformed into aggressive nationalism.

The problem comes when we make the military the imaginary repository of all our values, merging the military and the state into a false vision of the country, replacing the real nation. For my own part, I see the military bureaucracy as part of the problem, not as part of any solution. That, along with my own conviction that the Iraq war is wrong—both morally and for American interests—has made it more difficult to focus on the courage of our troops.

The politicians have made all their unnecessary wars (including a number of "good" ones) acceptable to a large segment of the public by successfully manipulating what is itself a good thing—the normal habit of taking one's own side in a fight—to accomplish goals that themselves are damaging to the nation, especially the sons and—God help us—daughters who are now in harm's way. A really heroic thing would be for a patriotic official in good standing to risk his career by saying that the country is best served by

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ending the pointless war in Iraq.

I despise the killing of civilians, and each American death is a loss for all of us. But if we "drown out" what is happening in Iraq—as the architects of that illegal war would have us do—we will not look closely at the reasons the insurgency is growing and more Americans are dying. How many Iraqis have died in a war they did not provoke? Is it simply an act of narcissism to sacrifice one's life to strike at foreign occupiers and at what are viewed (by the suicides themselves and their sympathizers) as collaborators? Was it any less evil to launch an invasion of a country that had not attacked us? Doesn't the invasion and occupation of Iraq have as much to do with the attacks on U.S. troops as does militant Islam (which no one can accuse the editors of *Chronicles* of underestimating)? If we truly respect the military profession and care for our soldiers, we cannot allow them to be used as cannon fodder in a war that has nothing to do with America or American interests. If Israelis feel the need to invade an Arab state, let them. If the oil lobby wants Arab oil, let them buy it.

I feel a great deal of personal anguish over the war. A large number of the troops being lost over there are people like you and me—"Middle Americans," for want of a better term. Middle America is losing young people we desperately need at home, having families and preserving the land we all love in a way that has nothing to do with heroism in the martial sense but with an everyday courage a lot of us, including yours truly, have not celebrated enough. Those are the kind of role models we really need to be promoting at this point in our history.

On the Way Out of Iraq

Dr. Srdja Trifkovic's "Iraq: The Way Out" (*American Proscenium*, August) is the most promising piece I have seen since it became apparent that our initial military victory marked the beginning of our warfare in that country, not the end. For more than a year, I have been advocating to those (precious few) who would listen that Iraq should be reconstituted along ethnic lines as three separate nations. Such worked reasonably well with the former Yugoslavia. The Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, and Serbs behaved better once they had, or were confined to, their own countries. I would think that, faced with the prospects of having to pacify the Sunni Triangle, most Shiites and Kurds would vote for, at most, a loose federation rather than tight integration with that land. At the same time, the prospects of serious Sunni troublemaking in the neighboring states seem remote.

But there is a serious complication that Dr. Trifkovic did not address. Not all the ethnics conveniently reside within the boundaries of their ancestral homelands. Should the many Shiites who live in Baghdad be forcibly removed, as refugees, to the south? Should there be some kind of asset (*e.g.*, oil wells) or territory exchange as compensation to the otherwise dispossessed? Or should it be assumed that, once secure in their own nation-state, the Sunnis would allow the resident Shiites to live in peace, albeit with the limited political power of a minority?

The Bush administration could certainly use some guidance as to where to take its next step strategically. Where is the vision? Is the "Yugo solution" tainted because it happened under Clinton's watch? Is President Bush seeking to be the "Lincoln of Iraq," "preserving the Union" at all costs? Our legitimate objectives in Iraq do not require national unity there in order to be achieved.

—Dr. George R. Compton
Alpine, UT

Dr. Trifkovic Replies:

Dr. Compton raises important questions to which I can give only tentative answers. I offer them in the awareness that, of distant lands, we always know less than we think we know.

The real Sunni objection to the setting up of Shiite and Kurdish autonomous regions is not the yearning for a Lincolnesque union but the legitimate fear that a decentralized Iraq would leave Sunni areas economically disadvantaged.

Article 109 of Iraq's draft constitution stipulates that "the oil and gas of all the regions belong to the entirety of the Iraqi people" and that all oil and gas revenues "should be equitably distributed throughout the country according to the population size of each region."

There is a killer proviso in that article, however, inserted by the Shiite-Kurdish majority on the Drafting Committee. It says that it is necessary "to reserve, for a determined period, part of this wealth for the neglected regions which were deprived of it under the former regime." The United States should exert her influence to have this addendum removed, as it opens the back door for Shiites and Kurds to keep the bulk of oil and gas revenues for themselves.

It is necessary to place Kirkuk—a major center of oil production—in the Sunni Arab unit in the middle of the country. Many Kurds will complain that successive governments in Baghdad have implemented a policy of deliberate Arabization of the city in order to ensure Arab control of the oil fields. The United States must not allow conflicting claims over such historical rights (or wrongs) to alter the outcome.

That outcome is clearly dictated by our interest: We need a Sunni stake in the coming Iraqi oil bonanza. For p.r. purposes, it can be presented as "democratic": That there is no Kurdish majority in the city of Kirkuk, or in the region, is an empirical fact. Kurdish nationalists may claim it as their regional capital for reasons both emotional and financial, but they should be told in no uncertain terms that they cannot have it all. *De facto* statehood in the northern third of Iraq—minus Kirkuk—is more than the Kurds could have hoped for a mere decade ago. They should count their blessings and play along.

Giving all three constituent communities an equal share of Baghdad, as a federal capital, is the only solution that avoids the unpleasantness of ethno-religious cleansing.

More problematic for the United States is not the area of disagreement among the drafters of Iraq's constitution but a key point on which they all seem to agree: the role of Islam. "Islam is a main source for legislation and it is not permitted to legislate anything that conflicts with the fixed principles of the rules of Islam," the draft states, and these principles are reported to have been approved by American diplomats in Baghdad.

This is light years away from the concept of "spreading democracy in the Middle East" that has been used as a justification for the war in Iraq. Its ultimate fruit may well be an Iraq that is more detrimental to our interests than Saddam had ever been.

Dr. Compton asks, "Where is the vision?" I am afraid that it exists only in the minds of those operatives who delight in the notion of "benevolent global hegemony," or whose primary loyalty is to a foreign country.

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by Leon Hadar

"Courageous" Sharon "Disengages" From Gaza

You've probably heard the one about the boy who murdered his parents and then asked the court for mercy because he was an orphan. But what if, after being pardoned by the judge, who had taken into consideration his heartbreaking experience, the young kid also demanded that the state provide him with financial assistance to compensate him for the loss of his main providers?

Now isn't that chutzpah? Well, you ain't seen nothing until you've read the interview Ariel Sharon gave to the ultra-Orthodox Israeli weekly *Mishpaha* (cited here by way of *Ha'aretz*), in which he delivered a stinging attack against the residents of Tel Aviv who went to the beach and sat around in restaurants and cafés instead of empathizing with the pain of the settlers whom he removed from their homes in the Gaza Strip.

> "I heard today that Tel Aviv's beaches were filled to capacity with bathers," the prime minister said at the very moment the evacuation of Neveh Dekalim and Kfar Darom [two of the Jewish settlements in Gaza] was being completed. "I would imagine that one would be hard pressed to find an empty place this evening in a Tel Aviv restaurant. In these difficult times, I would expect more solidarity from various parts of the nation. But you know, the talented and unique Jews also know how to hate. We have masterminds of hatred here. I would definitely like to see more understanding and empathy on the part of different sectors of the nation for the pain of the evacuees."

Forget for a moment the hypocrisy of the ultrasecular Sharon—he once astounded Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci when he offered to share with her his not-very-kosher shrimp cocktail, describing it as his "favorite dish"—being celebrated by an ultra-Orthodox Jewish magazine as he delivered sermons on Jewish Brotherly Love (Brotherly Love was, ironically, the name designated for the removal of the Jewish settlers from Gaza) to the secular Jews of Tel Aviv whom he accused of hatred. It certainly takes chutzpah to demand that the Jewish (and Arab) residents of the Greater Aviv area, most of whom were opposed to the policy of diverting Israeli resources and troops—and let's not forget the U.S. taxpayer money—to build and protect the Jewish settlements in Gaza should feel the pain of a bunch of religious fanatics who were throwing rotten eggs and stones at Israeli soldiers and comparing them to SS troops while vilifying all those who disagree with them (most Israelis, including Sharon) as "traitors" and Jew-hating "Nazis" and "Cossacks," and then pocketing the $300,000-per-family grant provided by the Israeli government to help them resettle inside Israel.

Sharon's soaring level of chutzpah becomes even more evident when one considers that it was "Arik King of Israel," as the settlers used to call him, who was the main driving force behind the building of Jewish settlements in Gaza as well as in the West Bank (or Judea and Samaria). Defying demography, geography, and topography, Sharon, who was hailed as the "Father of the Settlements," apparently assumed that the millions of Palestinians would simply evaporate, having been "surrounded" by Jewish enclaves. Misleading members of his own government, not to mention several administrations in Washington, he helped the members of the messianic Jewish movement to violate the law and establish a presence in the occupied Arab territories, "creating facts" on the ground that would be impossible to erase and would eventually be transformed into permanent settlements. And he used the power of the pro-Greater-Israel coalition to create his own political base inside the Likud Party and to lead Israel into a disastrous military adventure in Lebanon that, not unlike the settlement project in Gaza, yielded tragic consequences for both Israelis and Arabs. And now he is the one who is criticizing Tel Avivians for going to beach and for their lack of sympathy toward the fate of those settlers who played such a destructive role in the production that Sharon himself had produced and whose script—or at least some lines in it—he is now trying to change.

But guess who wasn't sunbathing on the beach in Tel Aviv and was feeling the pain of the evacuated settlers? Count CNN and the rest of the American media as the leading empathizers with the members of Israel's version of Hezbollah and Hamas, playing into their hands by producing a narrative in which the settlers were cast as victims in supposedly one more tragedy in Jewish history.

Doron Rosenblum, a popular Israeli, did a good job of deconstructing the show that the settlers put on during their grand finale in Gaza:

> Prayers, embraces, crying, festivals, weddings, endless victimization, surprises and an expectation of miracles, Torah scroll dedication ceremonies, songs, dances, guilt feelings and pangs of conscience, imposing fear by means of hysterical outbursts, eliciting tears in gestures of nostalgic kitsch, Zionistic schmaltz, emotional kvetch in this theater, all means are acceptable [for trying to win sympathy].

In a nauseating demonstration of their perverted p.r. campaign, some of the settlers—who have been prospering in Gaza for years on government subsidies and employing Arab and Thai workers on their farms—were wearing the yellow star or dressed in Nazi concentration-camp outfits as they tried to "simulate" scenes from the Jewish holocaust: Jewish mothers pleading with the Nazi (Israeli) officers not kick them out of their homes in Warsaw (Gaza) and send them to Auschwitz (Tel Aviv).

But the images that have enraged many Israelis, including holocaust survivors, have probably brought tears to the eyes of viewers watching the melodramatic American television coverage of the disengagement. "I couldn't help but take note once again of the striking double standard applied by American news media as well as the U.S. govern-

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ment," wrote Orit Shohat in *Ha'aretz*. "I cannot recall any sympathetic coverage of Palestinians being evicted from their homes. No interviews with weeping mothers or fathers. No discussions of whether the evictions were right or wrong." This was "obviously a deliberate policy on the part of America's television networks, for after all, they had 4,170 opportunities to report on Palestinian evictions since September 2000," Shohat continued. "That's how many homes were destroyed, and, of course, doesn't count the orchards and olive trees bulldozed by the Israeli army or Israeli settlers."

The American media coverage played into the settlers' hands, creating the image they wanted. The settlers were crying, and CNN was crying with them. Wolf Blitzer failed to mention that these same settlers were responsible for their fate by going to Gaza in the first place and by refusing to cooperate with the Israeli government. None of the settlers seemed to care about the eight Arabs murdered by Jewish terrorists inside Israel and in the West Bank in the name of opposition to the withdrawal. They seemed to have no connection to that, just as they had supposedly no connection to the murder of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995.

And, of course, the ultimate winner that has emerged in the aftermath of this choreographed media event is Ariel Sharon, who is being lauded by the Bush administration for his "political courage" in being willing to make a "great sacrifice" for peace. In fact, the decision to remove the Jewish settlers from Gaza had very little to do with a desire to reach peace with the Palestinians and was more a response to pressure from the majority of the Israeli public and members of the political and military elites, who have concluded a long time ago that Israel's long-term security interests were damaged by using precious Israeli resources to maintain and protect a small number of settlers in the midst of more than a million angry and poor Palestinians. It was a unilateral Israeli action that is part of strategy to consolidate Israeli control of large parts of the West Bank and most of the Jewish settlements there, which includes the construction of a "security fence" that will separate Israel from Gaza and the populated Arab areas in the West Bank.

That policy might prove to be cost-effective in terms of ensuring that Israel will not be transformed into a binational Jewish-Arab state while helping the Israelis to protect themselves, at least in the short run, from terrorist attacks by radical Palestinians. Many observers are wondering why the Israeli disengagement from Gaza didn't take place many years ago. And why were those Jewish settlements established in the first place, resulting in so much waste of Israeli economic and military resources, not to mention the loss of lives on both sides?

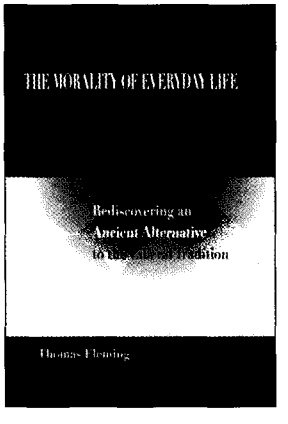
In another demonstration of chutzpah, Sharon has already requested that the American taxpayer provide Israel with financial assistance to help her carry out the disengagement from Gaza. But we should recall that all U.S. administrations have condemned the establishment of those settlements, as well as those in the West Bank, and have regarded them as "illegal." Not unlike the poor orphan who murdered his parents, Sharon and the settlers don't deserve our pity or our support. There is no reason why Americans should shed tears over the fate of the Jewish settlers or express their gratitude to Sharon for forcing them to return home to Israel proper. c

The Morality of Everyday Life: Rediscovering an Ancient Alternative to the Liberal Tradition

by Thomas Fleming

What passes for conservatism today is really nothing more than the impossible moral and social theories of the Renaissance and Enlightenment, in which universal abstractions, such as democracy and equality, are presented as hard truths, when, in fact, they have never existed in any society in human history. Nonetheless, they are to be applied worldwide, at the tip of a spear (or cruise missile) if necessary.

Dr. Fleming's alternative is rooted in "everyday life," the local realities of blood and soil, custom and tradition, friendship and faith, and in the wisdom born of the experiences these realities beget. This wisdom finds expression in folktales and fables, in ancient Hebrew Scriptures and Greek philosophy, and in medieval casuistry. It is the method to solving ethical problems great and small, and it is the method that undergirds authentic conservatism.



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OIL PRICES have been soaring, yet the U.S. media has overlooked one of the chief reasons why. The 2005 Department of Defense report on "The Military Power of the People's Republic of China" cites Beijing's growing need for foreign sources of metals and fossil fuels as a "driver of strategy," noting that these account for 60 percent of China's imports. It is pushing China into closer ties with a variety of unsavory but resource-rich regimes, such as Iran, Sudan, and Venezuela. It is also bringing U.S. and Chinese interests into conflict.

Americans feel this rivalry every time they stop at a gas station. The price of a barrel of West Texas Intermediate oil had risen from $18 in November 2001 to a record $68 by the end of August. This is similar in real terms to the price jumps of the 1970's. But while those spikes were the result of politically induced "supply shocks" of limited duration, the current rise is from increased global demand, which will continue indefinitely.

China is driving the system in her role as "workshop of the world." She is moving beyond textiles, toys, and consumer electronics into the heavier manufacturing of automobiles, steel, shipbuilding, petrochemicals, and high-tech industries. Her own demand for goods is expanding, but so is production for export and for import-substitution. China's global trade surplus will top $125 billion this year. Her trade surplus with the United States will be around $220 billion, out of an overall projected U.S. trade deficit of $700 billion. Whereas China exports manufactured goods to pay for her imports of oil and raw materials in classic mercantilist fashion, the United States does not export enough to pay her import bills, for either manufactures or energy. America relies on debt and the sale of productive assets to finance her consumption—the historical pattern of decline.

Yet, the United States is much more energy efficient than China. America has cut by half her oil per real dollar of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) since the crises of the 1970's, because of improved fuel efficiency, increased use of non-oil sources of energy, and the decline in manufacturing under the pressure of imports.

According to William B. Gamble, president of Emerging Market Strategies, "China consumes twice as much energy as India per dollar output, and between three and five times the energy per dollar output than the world average. They consume a staggering fifteen times more than the Japanese, who have been investing in energy efficient technology since the first oil shock in the 70's." Thus, the shift of industry from the United States, Europe, and Japan to China in pursuit of "cheap labor" has helped create a world of "expensive energy."

If these higher energy costs were fully passed on to those who operate in China, that country's competitive advantage would suffer. Beijing subsidizes energy to consumers, however, to keep the system humming. It is also looking for ways to shield the economy from world prices by buying oil and natural-gas fields in Kazakhstan, Russia, Venezuela, Sudan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Canada. It tried to acquire the American firm Unocal, whose primary fields are in Indonesia. "Free traders" were appalled when Congress objected to the Chinese bid on geopolitical and national-security grounds, but Beijing's strategy is about avoiding markets, not entrusting China's fate to some "invisible hand." In the most strategic sectors of the economy, China is still a state-run enterprise. By vertically integrating energy with industry, the country can internalize price at the cost of production and avoid the premium price set by supply-and-demand in the global arena.

Indian strategists understand Chinese ambitions better than do American economists. India's oil minister, Mani Shankar Aiyar, wanted to up his country's bid for PetroKazakhstan against China's attempt to buy the largest private integrated oil company in that Central Asian land. Beijing interests have already gained control of most of Kazakhstan's other oil reserves. A crucial battle is being waged among pipeline projects to determine whether the rich oil and natural-gas fields of Central Asia will pump to markets in Europe, or the Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean ports, or directly to China. A similar competition is in full swing between Japan and China over which direction Siberian oil will move.

During the 1990's, questions of ownership and control of resources were neglected, as was exploration and development, because competition was driving down world prices. That situation has now changed, and so must U.S. policy. With markets driving prices upward, the power to direct the flow of scarce resources becomes paramount. Expanding U.S. ownership of global resources while investing in domestic development and efficiency is only part of the campaign to foster energy independence. Diplomacy must also shape foreign decisions to maintain U.S. access to resources and prevent needed supplies from being hoarded by rivals. It's an old game that our statesmen need to relearn quickly.

—William R. Hawkins

ABORTION advocates were pleased when reports from the world of medicine suggested that it cannot be shown conclusively that a child in the womb feels the pain of the needle to his heart, the vacuum sucking away his body parts, or the curette that carefully slices him to pieces. However, a careful reflection on such boldly ignorant claims leads to some realistic assumptions based on what we know and what we can see.

The very first sonogram film depicting an actual abortion was put together by Bernard Nathanson, M.D. Nathanson was once an abortionist who presided over thousands of such acts of killing. He eventually repented of his involvement with abortion and became one of the most significant pro-life leaders of our time.

In Nathanson's real-time ultrasound film, *The Silent Scream*, produced in the 1980's, we see a 12-week suction abortion. It dramatically, but factually, shows the preborn baby dodging the suction instrument time after time, while his heartbeat doubles in rate. When the baby is ultimately caught and his body is being dismembered, his mouth clearly opens wide, screaming silently. This production is not a melodramatic reenactment; it is an eyewitness account.

Subsequently, many medical professionals have argued, based on their knowledge and the developing body of evidence regarding the preborn, that these children *do* feel pain, and some say that this occurs as early as eight weeks.

So when the *Journal of the American Medical Association* recently published a "study" addressing the question of whether a fetus feels pain, we were told by the authors, two of whom have a vested inter-

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est in the abortion industry, that the evidence shows "that fetal perception of pain is unlikely before the third trimester."

Please note the careful choice of words. The five researchers did not offer solid proof but concluded that the "perception" of pain, on the part of the preborn, is unlikely to be detected. This statement is totally irrelevant on more than one level.

When credible researchers have a conflict of interest, they should make that clear. If the purpose of the study was to persuade the public that, as has been the case for years, those who support a "woman's right to choose" to kill her baby do not believe that the preborn is, in any sense, a human being, then they should have stated that up front. Honesty, however, has never been the hallmark of the abortion industry.

Beyond that is the fact that human embryology has proved that a human being begins at conception. There is no question about this. Thus, when an intentional act is taken to eliminate that human being, the truth is that an act of killing has taken place.

Whether the victim "feels" or "perceives" has nothing to do with the vile nature of aborting an innocent human being. Would it matter if, because your grandmother's sensory system had been deadened, her attending physician shot her in the head and killed her? Would you be less likely to press charges of murder?

The same applies to the preborn. Feeling pain is not the issue in this matter; acting to kill is. One can haggle over age of the fetus, reactions of the fetus, and whatnot. But at the end of the day, we are talking about one of us whose life has somehow been downgraded to semihuman or nonhuman.

This discussion about fetal pain actually addresses peripheral questions that distract our attention while thousands continue to die every day at the hands of abortion proponents. We are thus diverted from the path we should all be walking—straight toward an end to the massive slaughter of our progeny.

Let's talk about what really matters in this case. Whether the preborn human being, the "fetus," feels pain at all, why are we killing innocent children simply because they are not yet born?

—*Judie Brown*

JUDGE JOHN ROBERTS can rest assured that his Supreme Court confirmation will go very smoothly, judging from the weak 11th-hour attacks the left is mounting against him in the media. A "shocking" discovery about his record appeared in an August 26 report in the *Washington Post* that took issue with a phrase Roberts used while drafting an article about the presidency on President Ronald Reagan's behalf for the journal *National Forum*. As the *Post* reported: "A fastidious editor of other people's copy as well as his own, Roberts began with the words, 'Until about the time of the Civil War.' Then, the Indiana native scratched out the words 'Civil War' and replaced them with 'War Between the States.'"

The *Post* managed to squeeze blood out of this turnip, citing the comments of an emeritus history professor from Vanderbilt University, Sam McSeveney: "Many people who are sympathetic to the Confederate position are more comfortable with the idea of a 'War Between the States.' People opposed to the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s would undoubtedly be more comfortable with the words he chose." For the sake of "balance," the *Post* also included the remarks of John Coski, library director of the Museum of the Confederacy: "You can't always draw the inference that someone who uses the term does so with an ideological intent, but at the same time you can't be blind to the fact that some people do." As the *Post* would have it, "Civil War" contains no "ideological intent"; it is only those who choose not to make use of that name who are ideologically driven.

From this episode, we can discern that Judge Roberts is at least remotely literate, both historically and otherwise, and that the editors and reporters at the *Post*, and perhaps the historians cited above, are not. Those who "prefer" to call the war of 1861-65 the War Between the States are at least a bit closer to the truth of the matter than are those who call it the Civil War.

A civil war is, properly speaking, an internal war fought by members of one polity for control of a state or government—a war among the citizens: The wars between Marius and Sulla or among the triumvirs that ultimately ended the Roman republic were civil wars. *Stasis* in a Greek *polis* was a civil war. The struggle between Roundheads and Cavaliers in England was truly a civil war. Wars of secession (the American wars of 1861-65 and 1775-83) are wars with the objective of separating one or more polities from an existing polity. The Dutch wars of independence against the Spanish also fall into this category. Secession implies the denial by one (or both) sides of a common polity and a common citizenship shared between the two. A secessionist war is as close to being the opposite of a civil war as a war can be. None of this is a political or ideological claim; this is a matter of the correct use of the English language.

The French are more accurate in their description of our own War of Secession, which is precisely what they call it (*la guerre de Sécession*). Only the adherents of the official ideology about the war find that distinction troubling.

The phrase *Civil War* is far more ideologically charged, because to accept that designation is to accept an understanding of the war that was deliberately constructed to advance the fiction that the Union preceded the states, so that any disruption of the Union was equivalent to the illegal division of a single polity and, therefore, seditious and treasonous.

However, calling it a War Between the States muddles the issue, since neither Northern nor Southern states as such initially started the war, and the "states" were organized into two very clear and coherent sides representing dueling visions of American politics. Employing "War Between the States" has been a diplomatic way for students of history, such as Judge Roberts, and Southerners to express a basic truth about the war. Nonetheless, it is more properly called the War of Secession, the War of Consolidation, or, as Dr. Clyde Wilson put it in the September issue of *Chronicles*, the War to Prevent Southern Independence.

—*Daniel Larison*

OBITER DICTA: Our poet this month is **Constance Rowell Mastores** of Oakland, California. Her poems have appeared in *Artweek*, the *Atlanta Review*, *Bellowing Ark*, *Blue Unicorn*, *Boulevard*, *Coracle*, *DAYbreak*, the *Lyric*, *Modern Haiku*, the *Neovictorian/Chochlea*, *Poetry Flash*, *Rattapallax*, *Tiger's Eye*, and *Visions International*, among others.

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by Thomas Fleming

Christians Against Terrorism

Tony Blair is mad—really mad. Nasty people keep blowing up things in his London, and he is going to do something about it. At a press conference in late July, he told the world that he wants to make it illegal for British subjects to leave Britain for advanced terrorist training in Pakistan. The hidden premise of his proposal is the good news that Britain is now breeding so many homegrown Islamic terrorists that she no longer has to import them. Nonetheless, British Muslims do lag behind in one important respect: They have to send apprentice terrorists to Pakistan to complete their training under the benevolent eye of President Musharraf, President Bush's ally in the "War on Terror."

Of course, it might be easier and vastly more effective if Mr. Blair simply expelled subcontinental Muslims from Britain and enacted a strict immigration policy, but such a step would entail a religious conversion from the goofy liberal pietism that has poisoned his will to the Christian chivalry of Charles Martel and Don John of Austria. Determined to ignore reality, Blair insists that terrorist bombings in London have nothing to do with Britain's involvement in Iraq. The source of the problem, he added, is an ideology that must be rooted out. The prime minister wants to shut down Islamic schools that preach hatred and violence toward the West, but, if he were really serious, he would have to shut down mosques and outlaw Islam *per se*, since true Islam has always preached and practiced violence against non-Muslims. The lies told on this score, by both politicians and journalists, exceed the Stalinist propaganda of the 1940's.

On one point, Blair is right. Terrorism cannot be addressed until we confront the ideologies that inspire it, but hardly anyone in the West is willing to tell the truth about either the Islamic roots of terrorism in the Koran and in the life of Muhammad or the modern roots of Western terrorism in the French Revolution and the conduct of modern war. The most obvious evidence of this willful self-deception are the statements of Prime Minister Blair and President Bush. Neither is willing to face the reality that the continuous devastation of Iraq, from the 1991 Gulf War through over a decade of sanctions that cost hundreds of thousands of lives to the Iraq war whose end is not yet in sight, might just have strengthened the hand of militant Muslims around the globe. The conquest of Iraq does not justify terrorism, but it does explain some of it.

What is terrorism? The *ism* suffix suggests that it is not simply violence but an ideology of inflicting terror. Terror has always been an instrument of war, especially in the Middle East. The boasts of the Assyrian kings make grisly reading even for modern men whose conscience has been numbed by video games and FOX News, but Islam was the first political system to make terrorism a deliberate instrument of a *righteous* policy. (Yes, Islam is a religion, but it is also a political ideology.) To take only one of dozens of relevant texts, the Koran (5:33) prescribes execution or crucifixion for those who resist Allah and his messenger.

Islam is not the only religion that has preached death to infidels. The Jews regarded the God of the Old Testament as angry and vengeful, and in His name they claim to have done terrible things, though the historical record suggests that the occupation of Canaan fell far short of genocide. Muslim leaders, by contrast, have not merely recorded their history of bloodshed in boastful accounts; they have actively pursued terror as a policy of softening up an enemy before the actual invasion. In the first millennium of the long Islamic nightmare, terror raids not only rewarded the *Ghazi*, whose loyalty was strengthened by the opportunity to loot and rape, but they made conditions of life so intolerable that Christians might be pardoned for welcoming the law and order promised by the caliph or sultan. It is not always easy to determine the strict proportions of religious zeal, opportunism, and strategic policy that went into making the terror campaigns that destroyed the Eastern Roman Empire, but it is important to recognize that the history of Islamic terrorism represents something more than a series of very violent episodes: Terrorism is the essential tactic for subduing the infidel and extending Islamic power.

At the root of religious terrorism lies the conviction that mine is not only the true faith but the only faith with any truth. "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet" is not merely a declaration of monotheism and an affirmation of the superiority of Islam. It implies the radical division of the world into two camps: the peaceful realm of faithful Muslims and the realm of nonbelievers with whom they are at war. Though the terms of that war may be mitigated by submission and payment of tribute, the war is itself as permanent and potentially ruthless as the war the Spartans annually proclaimed against the Helots. While Spartans did not ordinarily go around killing their serfs, the declaration of war gave them absolute impunity. Turks in Greece or Serbia, under *sharia*, enjoyed a similar privilege: When they killed a Christian or raped his daughter, no Christian's testimony was valid in court.

Do not be deceived by the Muslims' claim to honor the "peoples of the book." The scriptures of the Old and New Testaments that Muslims revere are the "authentic" versions, whose truths are taught in the Koran, whereas our Bible has been perverted by wicked priests and scribes. There can be no compromise between absolute right and absolute wrong. There are, of course, people who call themselves Christians who have taught something similar, but such an evil fantasy is contradicted not only by Christ's moral injunctions but also by the Christian understanding of Him as the *Logos* by Whom all things were made. Christians know that the religions of the Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, Greek pagans, *et al.* are false, but they also acknowledge (with Saint Paul) that there are important elements of truth in each of them. Ordinary Muslims, who do their best to tell the truth, deal honestly with their fellows, and worship Allah, are superior in most respects to post-Christian hedonists in the West.

Christians naturally wish to convert nonbelievers to the full truth, but, at the same time, they see even the most violent Islamic terrorists as creatures made in the image of God for whose salvation Christ took on human flesh and suffered death. Crusaders were quite wrong when

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they violated treaties with Muslim rulers or mistreated civilians, and today, when Christian Zionists justify mayhem and murder against Palestinians (including Palestinian Christians), they reveal how far they have fallen from the Christian Faith.

Although Christianity is not a religion of pacifism or nonresistance, violence is permitted in only very restricted cases, mainly to preserve life or punish evildoers. A Christian ruler may not go to war unless the cause is just—for example, to defend his country against aggression or to rescue the victims of aggression. Even in a just war, however, a Christian ruler may not deliberately attack noncombatants or even wage war in such a way as to cause death to large numbers of women and children. This is an exacting standard to which few Christian states have measured up, but it was and is and ever shall be the standard by which we judge the justice of any war. During the 20th century, no important country made a serious attempt to conduct its wars according to Christian rules. The record of such criminal states as the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany does not require comment, but Christians must also condemn Britain's firebombing campaign against German cities, Harry Truman's decision to drop atomic bombs on two Japanese civilian centers, Bill Clinton's deliberate bombing of bridges and office buildings during the attack on Yugoslavia, and the massive "collateral damage" inflicted by the Bushes' two Iraq wars.

A military operation might be immoral, in its brutal disregard for human life, without being an act of terrorism, but the bombings of Dresden and Hiroshima were intended to destroy the morale of the German and Japanese peoples. That is the whole point of terrorism, as President Lincoln and his amoral generals knew. Sherman's March to the Sea was conducted on the theory that the Southern people were responsible for the war and, therefore, a legitimate target. Sherman's deliberate burning of Columbia, South Carolina, accompanied by massive looting and rape, was a war crime, and his attempt to deny his responsibility is either a sign of his insanity or else the tribute that vice used to have to pay to virtue. Sherman's actions and statements are explicit: His march was intended as a campaign of terror, and, as he jokingly told General Halleck, who had suggested that it would not be a bad idea if his boys, when they took Charleston, got careless with matches, with boys like these, you do not need an accident. War is hell, Sherman said, and proceeded to make it so.

Then why the lie? Because 150 years ago, there was still the vestige of a Christian conscience in Europe and North America. Now that that conscience has virtually disappeared, the lovers of war crimes should exult in their heroes' glorious deeds. There are so many mass murderers to admire—Attila, Tojo, Sultan Mehmed II—but American conservatives must await the next book of Victor Davis Hanson to find out who their next criminal-hero will be.

Lincoln and his generals (Grant, Sherman, Sheridan) have often been accused of introducing the theory and practice of total war into the civilized world, but they do not deserve even that much credit for their originality. The Jacobins, both in their democratic theory and in their war of genocide against the Vendée, blazed the trail that burned through Georgia and South Carolina and consumed the poor people of Dresden.

If Christianity forbids the slaughter of the innocent, it is not too difficult to see that rejection of Christianity is the first step toward creating a regime of mass murder. That is the most obvious lesson taught by the French Revolution, the Third Reich, and the Soviet Union. What of the architects of the American Vendée? Lincoln was a mocker; Sherman, an "agnostic"—an atheist without the courage of his convictions—and Grant, a skeptic who went to church with his wife but never received communion, even on his deathbed. Grant criticized the wealth (tax-exempt) of churches in America and repeatedly called for a strict separation of church and state. His anti-Christian views made him the ideal hero for Mark Twain.

If American Christians would cease their everlasting prattle about living in a "Christian nation," they might begin to hold their very unchristian leaders to account for their actions that contradict the teachings of Christ and His Church. Terrorism is terrorism, whether practiced by Islamic extremists, Jacobin democratists, or post-Christian advocates of benevolent global hegemony, and if we seriously wish to combat terrorism, it cannot be with the methods of *counterterrorism*, a word that means nothing better than "terrorism against terrorism."

Since the United States, far from being a "Christian nation," forbids prayer in school and encourages infanticide, it is pointless to demand a Christian foreign policy from non-Christian (mostly anti-Christian) political leaders. Is there anything, then, that Christian citizens can do to fight terrorism? In practice, very little. Your congressman is not going to listen to any argument framed in terms of a "just war," and Muslim terrorists, thanks to the Bush administration's refusal to defend our borders, will continue to flood into the United States across both the southern and northern borders.

Opposition to terrorism is a moral act and must begin with moral understanding. You can, as a Christian, refuse to countenance any foolish talk that we are fighting a necessary, much less just, war in Iraq. Such language is as unacceptable from serious-minded laymen as it is from pastors or priests. One can argue pleasantly among friends about the facts of a war—whether, for example, Saddam Hussein had the will and the means to harm the United States. But it would be hard to maintain Christian fellowship with those who, on principle, advocate either an unjust war or the slaughter of civilians. At the same time, pacifism is not an option. Pacifism, like terrorism, is a modern and anti-Christian ideology. Most American pacifists are simply anti-American leftists from whom no good can ever come. We must always bear in mind that it is American men and women who, carrying out the duties they must carry out, are dying by the dozens in Iraq. Although they are not dying in a "noble cause," they are dying for their country.

Christian conservatives (I am using the word in a limited sense that excludes most self-described conservatives) are in a difficult position. Our political leaders want us to believe that Islam is good but that we have to kill Muslims simply because they do not want us to occupy their country. In fact, we should be treating Muslim men and women justly, while doing our best to exclude this religion from the United States. Before we can hope to exert any political influence, conservative Christians must achieve moral clarity and begin to act as men and women of faith who support (if they do) the Republican Party on practical grounds instead of being what too many Catholic and evangelical voters are today: Republicans who sing in church but leave their faith, along with the discarded bulletin, behind in the pew. c

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You, William Dunbar

by Constance Rowell Mastores

November nears and where the hour
of budding leaf, of quince and plum?
Flown with the bee that sipped each flower.

Yet still the fear of what to come,
the scuttling leaf, the dying sun,
the angst of loss and how to bear

the weakened state, the chilblain air,
as leaves, green sap withdrawn, release
their grasp and fall upon the layered

place of duff and rot and mast;
and still the fear of what is last,
the shriveled mind and shrunken past,

and then the corpse, the pall, the grave.
Timor mortis conturbat me.

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by Paul Gottfried

A Suppressed Embarrassment

A book that has failed to go anywhere internationally, contrary to the author's expectation, is a recent study by a Chilean Jewish academic who teaches philosophy at the University of Berlin, Victor Farías. His work deals with the youthful thought and career of Salvador Allende, who, between 1970 and 1973, headed the Marxist Government of Popular Unity in Chile. This volume, which appeared in Chile and Spain in separate editions this year, should have received widespread critical attention. Farías, in 1987, brought out *Heidegger y el nazismo*, a work that immediately went into translation in French and other languages, as the definitive exposé of Heidegger's putative lifelong infatuation with Nazi thinking. Although the arguments offered in that *démontage* are less than persuasive, and have largely to do with unproved sinister Catholic influence, the book made a splash and helped establish Farías's reputation as an antifascist critic.

Then Farías began pushing the envelope. Although indisputably a leftist, he had severely criticized the failure of the Chilean labor movement to respond to the antisemitic politics of the Third Reich. Both labor leaders and socialist publications in Santiago in the 30's, Farías explained in a book that came out in 2000, had opposed granting asylum to Jewish refugees and even contributed to stereotyping Jews as bloodsucking capitalists. The author had also worked closely with Simon Wiesenthal to extradite former Nazis involved in mass murder from Chile and learned, to his dismay, that the Allende regime had doggedly protected an SS officer, Walther Rauff, who had overseen the murders of about 100,000 Jews during World War II. Allende had refused repeated requests to give Rauff over for trial to either the Israelis or an international tribunal.

Farías's new book, *Salvador Allende: contra los judíos, los homosexuals, y otros degenerados*, represents a further phase in his disenchantment with the Chilean far left. The reader discovers that Allende's dissertation in medicine, *Higiene Mental y Delincuencia*, submitted at the University of Chile in 1933, abounds in eugenic, antihomosexual, and antisemitic passages. A then-leading Chilean eugenicist, and a cofounder of the Liga de Higiene Mental, Hugo Lea-Plaza, has his fingerprints smudged all over this study. As minister of health in the government of the Chilean Popular Front between 1939 and 1941, moreover, Allende had advocated sterilization measures to deal with the mentally diseased. As Farías shows, these proposed measures seem to have been based on a German law of July 1933, to prevent "hereditary defects from affecting the race." And despite his formal identification with the left, Allende had persistently described revolutionaries as psychopaths in desperate need of psychiatric treatment. In his most visionary statements as a health official, he looked toward a future in which geneticists and psychiatrists would collaborate to control the spread of mental and birth defects, by any possible legal means.

One can dismiss these charges, from the right, as coming from the realization that the left has not always been p.c. After all, the communists in power, unlike American liberals and postcommunist European leftists, imprisoned and sometimes killed homosexuals instead of coddling them. Nor did they go around praising Jews as virtuous victims. In fact, they often diverted attention from their own failures by whipping up anti-Jewish feelings. If Jewish leftists had imagined that the situation was different, as Farías had, then clearly they must have been fools. It is also the case that Allende, in 1933, was working to finish an academic assignment. He did so while relying on conventional opinions, and he received a satisfactory grade that did not bring honors. Although his editorializing against Jews, gypsies, and homosexuals may seem disconcerting now, these may have been the kinds of statements that, at the time they were produced, an indifferent student might pull together as the precondition for practicing psychiatric medicine.

But there is something about Farías's brief that is noteworthy, which is how little attention it has received compared to the insubstantial case mounted against Heidegger as a perpetual Nazi. Unlike the evidence marshaled against the German existentialist, the material found in Allende's writings should be sending shock waves through the p.c. left.

French commentator Arnaud Imatz has observed in his essay "Salvador Allende: le scandale refoulé" that journalists are strikingly indulgent when it comes to Allende's tirades against Jews and gypsies, which approximate those of Hitler. And the comments from the dissertation reproduced on the dust jacket of Farías's book, about swindling, lying, and dishonesty being endemic to Jews, was certainly more than a boilerplate genetic judgment even in 1934, outside of pro-Nazi circles. Those who have noticed the embarrassment have tried to relativize it, the way other leftists used to explain Stalin's mass murder by pointing to Russia's geography or economic backwardness. Imatz notes the very different manner in which the p.c. media have responded to the information (which had long been known) that the French recipient of the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1912, Alexis Carrel, had played footsie with the Vichy regime before his death in 1944. As a belated punishment, the usual French crowd of Stalinists in drag and multiculturalists launched a successful campaign to have Carrel's once-prestigious name removed from *lycées* and other public institutions. Nothing of this sort has happened to Allende, despite the fact that his statements about eugenics are far more shocking than those that the left has dug up and used against Carrel. The work documenting Allende's political incorrectness has been studiously ignored or else dismissed (in the *New York Times*) for dwelling excessively on the fact that a later Marxist had once been a man of his time. Meanwhile, the foundation that bears Allende's name in Chile has questioned Farías's integrity for bringing on the scandal that never was. c

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Promoting Militant Islam Abroad

U.S. Policy Blunders

by Ronald L. Hatchett

On December 19, 1983, a special envoy from President Ronald Reagan stepped off the plane in Baghdad with a handwritten letter from the President to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. The letter informed Saddam that Washington was prepared to support Iraq in her war with Iran. The envoy was Donald Rumsfeld.

Rumsfeld spent another day in Baghdad expanding on the American strategy for aiding Iraq, including sharing intelligence and providing military advice, dual-use materials, and, through other countries, advanced military hardware. This seems almost incredible, given that, within a few years, America would be at war with Saddam and, in 2003, would depose him.

This misguided U.S. policy toward Iraq was not an anomaly. The tilt we took toward Iraq in the 1980's was mainly an attempt to clean up a mistake of previous decades when we blindly promoted Iran as our surrogate in the Gulf. From 1953, when the CIA engineered a coup that removed the leftist nationalist prime minister Mohammad Mossadegh from power and put Mohammed Reza Pahlavi back on the Peacock Throne, we sold Iran the latest and best of whatever military hardware she wanted. We trained her military at home and in the United States. When the shah was deposed and the ayatollahs took charge, however, we became the Great Satan, and American arms in Iranian hands became dangerous. We had created a threat that we tried to nullify through our tilt toward Iraq.

We also blundered when the Soviet Union entered Afghanistan in 1979. Once again, the centerpiece of our efforts focused on Islamic surrogates. We embraced several Islamic groups that hated us as much as, or more than, they hated the Soviets. According to Robert I. Friedman, between 1979 and 1989, the CIA gave over ten billion dollars in aid to *mujahideen* groups in Afghanistan. Much of this was channeled through the Pakistan Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) to such ultrareligious groups as the Taliban and a band of foreigners headed by a Saudi businessman named Osama bin Laden. During the 1980's, Bin Laden spent several years fighting Soviet forces and setting up military training camps in Afghanistan for foreign—mainly Arab—recruits. The CIA provided assistance for this training, and paper trails show direct delivery of weapons from the United States to Osama bin Laden's group.

When the Soviets left Afghanistan, Bin Laden looked for other areas in which to apply his training, weapons, and money. The Balkans were his prime target. Osama was an early supplier of weapons to the Bosnian Muslims. He also applied his skills in Kosovo, having established his base in Albania in 1994 with the help of then-premier Sali Berisha.

Bin Laden's efforts in the Balkans were known to the Clinton administration, which tolerated them because, among other reasons, it decided that supporting Muslims in the Balkans enhanced American influence in the wider Islamic world. Bin Laden was given a free hand in the Balkans and eventually established a strong foothold in the heart of Europe.

The Clinton administration also ignored funds and arms being shipped to Muslim forces by the Iranians, Saudis, and others. In 1994 alone, Saudi donors sent $150 million through Islamic aid organizations to Bosnia, according to the U.S. embassy in Riyadh. By the summer of 1995, over 3,000 foreign *mujahideen* and several foreign Muslim "humanitarian aid" centers were operating in Bosnia.

Under the Dayton Peace Accords, all foreign Islamic volunteers who fought with the Bosnian Muslim army were supposed to leave Bosnia. Many remained, however, having been given Bosnian citizenship and permanent residence, and Islamic "humanitarian-aid" agencies (which are often front groups for militants) continued to operate. Other foreign Muslims who supported the Muslim cause in Bosnia were rewarded in different ways—freedom of passage through and within Bosnia and access to legitimate Bosnian passports. A number of Islamic terrorists arrested over the past decade have held official Bosnian passports. Osama bin Laden himself was issued a passport by the Bosnian embassy in Vienna in 1993.

In its June 26, 1997, report on the bombing of the Al Khobar building in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, the *New York Times* noted that those arrested confessed to serving with Bosnian Muslim forces. The terrorists also admitted having ties to Osama bin Laden.

By late 1999, the Bosnian connection to Islamic terrorism attracted further attention when U.S. law-enforcement authorities discovered that several suspects who had visited or lived in Bosnia were associated with a terrorist plot to bomb U.S. targets on New Year's Day. Karim Said Atmani—a former roommate of Ahmed Ressam, the man arrested at the Canadian-U.S. border in mid-December 1999 with a carload of explosives—was identified by authorities as the document forger for a group accused of plotting the New Years' Day bombings.

Another Bosnian veteran, a Palestinian named Khalil Deek (who became a U.S. citizen in 1991), was arrested in Jordan in late-December 1999 on suspicion of involvement in a plot to blow up tourist sites. Mehrez Amdouni, yet another terrorist and former Bosnian resident, was arrested in September 1999 in Istanbul, where he arrived with a Bosnian passport. The *New York Times Magazine* reported on February 6, 2000, that "last year, sources in Jordan say, the Mukhabarat, the intelligence service, alerted the C.I.A. to at least three plots by Bosnian-based Islamic terrorists to attack U.S. targets in Europe."

The bottom line is that, by seeking favor with international Islam through supporting Islamic factions in their battle against

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their Christian neighbors in the Balkans, the United States succeeded in establishing a base and a safe haven in the West for the international Islamic terrorist movement.

And things could get worse. Two of our supposed closest allies in the Islamic world, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, are questionable investments.

U.S. ties to the Saudi regime date back to a meeting in 1945 between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the founder of the Saudi dynasty, Abdul Aziz ibn Saud. Saudi Arabia, according to James A. Russell, is the largest purchaser of U.S.-made defense equipment in the world, with sales totaling over $65 billion since the early 1950's. Most major platforms in the Saudi inventory are of U.S. origin: F-15 fighters, AWACS aircraft, Patriot missiles, M1A2 tanks, Bradley Fighting Vehicles, AH-64 Apache helicopters, and numerous other systems. U.S. advisors have spent the last 50 years helping hone the kingdom's military capabilities. Thousands of U.S. military contractors have been continuously based in Saudi Arabia.

All these efforts to build up a client in the Gulf region could be transformed overnight into a bastion of anti-American power for the international Islamic movement.

Since the Saudis' grand entrance onto the world stage as a wealthy oil-exporting nation in the 1950's, a status amplified in the 1970's with the drastic rise in oil prices, the House of Saud has desperately tried to align their desert kingdom with the West. However, theirs is not the only voice that matters in Saudi Arabia.

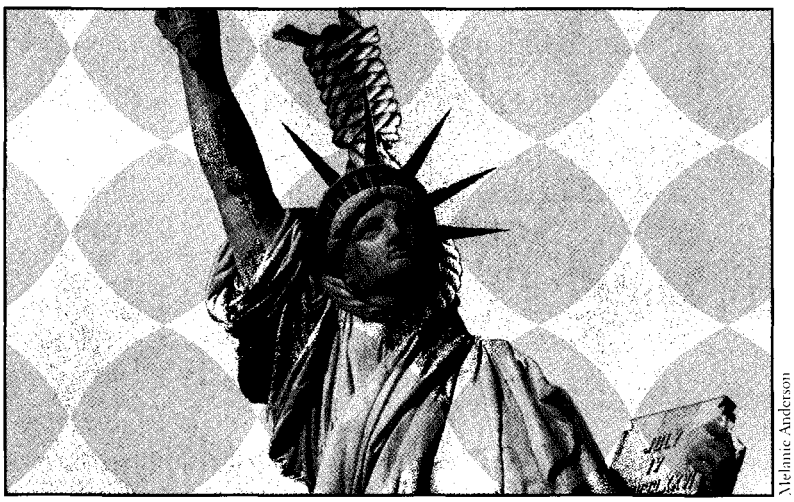
The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a marriage of convenience between the House of Saud and the strict Wahhab sect of Islam. In the 18th century, Mohammed ibn Saud, the forebear of today's ruling family, allied himself with conservative Muslims from the Wahhab sect. Over the next 200 years, backed by the Wahhabis, Saud and his descendants conquered much of the Arabian peninsula, including Islam's holiest sites in Mecca and Medina. Puritanical and ascetic, the Wahhabis were given wide sway over Saudi society, enforcing a strict interpretation of certain Koranic beliefs. Their religious police ensure that subjects pray five times per day and that women are covered head to toe. Rival religions—even other schools of Islam—are banned, and criminals are subject to stoning, lashing, and beheading. Moreover, the Wahhabis and the Saudis are determined that Saudi Arabia will remain the center of the Islamic world and are prepared to use their oil wealth to make it so.

Starting in the late 1980's—after the dual shocks of the Iranian revolution (viewed as a potential challenge to the religious leadership of the Saudi/Wahhab coalition) and the Soviet war in Afghanistan—Saudi Arabia's quasi-official charities became the primary source of funds for the fast-growing *jihad* movement. In some 20 countries, the money was used to run paramilitary training camps, purchase weapons, and recruit new members.

As David E. Kaplan has reported in *Newsweek* (December 15, 2003), the charities were part of an extraordinary $70-billion Saudi campaign to spread Wahhabism worldwide. The money helped lay the foundation for hundreds of radical mosques, schools, and Islamic centers that have acted as support networks for the *jihad* movement. The Saudi weekly *Ain al-Yaqeen* last year boasted of the results: some 1,500 mosques, 210 Islamic centers, 202 colleges, and nearly 2,000 schools in non-Islamic countries.

Although they called themselves private foundations, these were not charities in the sense that Americans understand the term. The Muslim World League and the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), for example, are overseen by the grand mufti of Saudi Arabia, the kingdom's highest religious authority. They receive substantial funds from the government and members of the royal family and make use of the Islamic-affairs offices of Saudi embassies abroad.

U.S. intelligence officials knew about Saudi Arabia's role in funding terrorism by 1996, yet, for years, Washington did almost nothing to stop it. Examining the Saudi role in terrorism was virtually taboo. Even after the embassy bombings in Africa, moves by counterterrorism officials to act against the Saudis were repeatedly rebuffed by senior staff at the State Department and elsewhere who felt that other foreign-policy interests outweighed fighting terrorism. Washington's unwillingness to confront the Saudis over terrorism was part of a broader strategic failure to sound the alarm on the rise of the global *jihad* movement.



Melanie Anderson

Pakistan is another potential foreign-policy disaster waiting to happen. Relations between the United States and Pakistan have fluctuated since Pakistan was founded in 1947. The United States has suspended aid numerous times over Pakistan's conflict with India over Kashmir, concerns about the country's lack of democratic institutions and her nuclear weapons, and security issues.

Pakistan has also been viewed as a crucial ally at times during the past 50 years and, as Bill Moyers reported on PBS's *Now*, has received nearly $12 billion in aid between 1947 and 2000. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan took on the role of frontline ally in one of the final encounters of the Cold War.

In 1990, Congress imposed an aid embargo on Pakistan because of her nuclear-weapons development program but included a clause allowing the President to provide aid that served U.S. national-security interests. In the aftermath of September 11, President George W. Bush lifted the embargo and resumed military aid to Pakistan.

However, President Pervez Musharraf, who took power in a military coup in 1999, threw his support to the Bush administration's "War on Terror" only grudgingly. In announcing his intention to cooperate with the United States, he characterized his decision as "a choice between accepting a distasteful action or damage to the country." (The main supporter of the Taliban regime and the only country to recognize its legitima-

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cy officially was Pakistan.)

Musharraf was quickly rewarded. Washington resumed sharing of intelligence information, training of military and other security personnel, and delivery of weapons, ammunition, and spare parts. In addition, Pakistan received over $1.5 billion in U.S. aid in 2002 and 2003. In late March 2005, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced the release of 28 F-16 fighter-bombers that had been held up under Congress's embargo. The administration also recently pledged a five-year, three-billion-dollar aid package to Pakistan, according to the *New York Times*.

In return, over the past three-and-a-half years, Pakistan has rounded up some 500 middle- and lower-level terrorist suspects, but key leaders such as Osama bin Laden and Mullah Omar remain at large—and, many suspect, moving about within Pakistani territory.

During the same time period, it was discovered that Abdul Qadeer Khan, the so-called father of the Pakistani nuclear program, ran one of the most extensive nuclear-proliferation schemes ever devised, supplying weapons know-how and parts to Iran, North Korea, and Libya. President Musharraf pardoned him because of "his great service to Pakistan."

This has not put an end to Pakistan's proliferation efforts. On March 26, 2005, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that

> A federal criminal investigation has uncovered evidence that the government of Pakistan made clandestine purchases of U.S. high-technology components for use in its nuclear weapons program in defiance of American law.
>
> Federal authorities also say the highly specialized equipment at one point passed through the hands of Humayun Khan, an Islamabad businessman who they say has ties to Islamic militants.

The components in question were sophisticated oscilloscopes and high-speed electrical switches also known as "triggered spark gaps," which are used in nuclear devices.

What is especially troublesome is that, despite Musharraf's alleged support for the United States, the mainstream of Pakistani public opinion seems to despise us. A March 2004 poll by the Pew Charitable Trust found that less than 10 percent of Pakistanis hold a positive view of the United States, while 69 percent say their views are "unfavorable."

Given the social, economic, and political condition of the country, this is not surprising. According to the September 11 Commission Report, "Pakistan's endemic poverty, widespread corruption, and often ineffective government create opportunities for Islamist recruitment. Poor education is of particular concern."

Both the American and Pakistani governments are aware of the collapse of Pakistan's educational system and the pervasiveness of the *madrassas*, the religious schools that, in many instances, teach terror and preach hatred toward the West. There were only 250 *madrassas* at independence in 1947 and about 5,000 in the 1980's. This number has now jumped to 45,000. The predominance of the *madrassas* in Pakistan is a consequence of the massive infusion of foreign, largely Saudi, funds and Pakistan's failure to provide adequate alternative educational facilities.

The attitude of the Pakistani people, and the questionable commitment of their leaders, suggests that Pakistan is shaky ground on which to build our efforts to combat terrorism in the Middle East.

Shaky ground does not seem to bother our policymakers, however: They are even willing to wade into quicksand. In May 2005, a French agency reported that the United States is trying to convince opposition forces in Syria to accept the lead of the Muslim Brotherhood. According to the report, the State Department, National Security Council, and members of the U.S. Congress have, for some months, been engaged in dialogue with the Muslim Brotherhood leaders about toppling the Syrian regime.

So, while we march merrily along proclaiming "mission accomplished" in our efforts to transform the Middle East, pouring our money, arms, and hope into Islamic regimes with the expectation that they will fight for our interests and help achieve our security, we are actually selling them the rope they need to hang us with. In some cases, we are giving it to them free.

Why do we do this? As Daniel Pipes has suggested, we are misled by four myths: There is no clash of civilizations; terrorism is not Islamic; Islam is compatible with American ideals and adds to American life; and Americans must learn to appreciate Islam.

Anyone who believes these myths needs to read Srdja Trifkovic's book *The Sword of the Prophet*. He confirms Bernard Lewis's statement that "Islam has actually been at war with the West for 1400 years." Their world consists of the *Dar al Islam*, the zone of the believers ("submission"), and the *Dar al Harb*, the zone of struggle. There is no zone of peaceful coexistence. The problem is, we think there is. C

Angst

by Constance Rowell Mastores

The hillside floats in a light wind. Standing there
in a changeling form, I watch as quail come twittering
up the slope and break the spell of silence—
or is it wretchedness?—that hangs like a shroud
at dusk, nacreous pools where doves once drank
insidious and blank. No mirror to mirror
my strange unseeming, no shimmer to dissipate
the haunted world of anguish and self-doubt.

Disturbed, the quail hesitate, drop back,
although, distilled in thought, I spread no shadow
where they pass. How heavy I must seem to them,
the unsubstantial ones that melt away
like prayers into the underbrush. A gaze
of centuries turned inward. Gravity collapsed.

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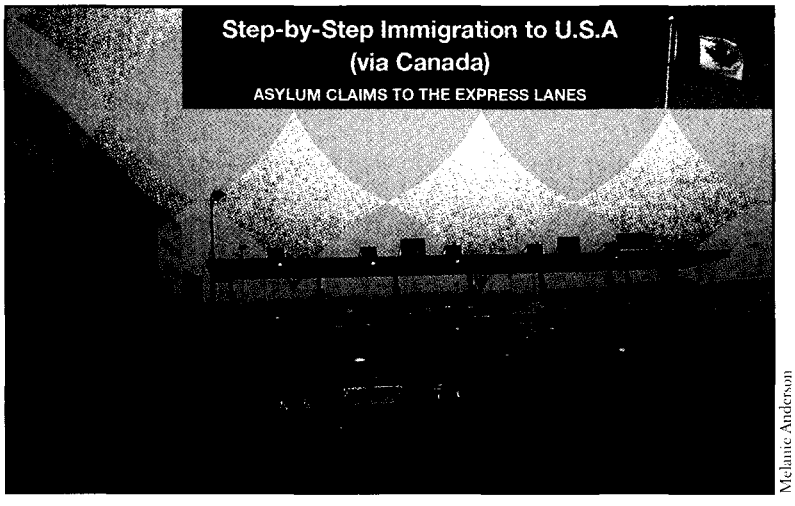
Learning From Canada's Mistakes

Terror Along the Border

by James Bissett



Melanie Anderson

Since his appointment as Canadian ambassador to the United States, Frank McKenna has spent many hours trying to assure Americans that none of the September 11 hijackers came from Canada. This is, of course, true, but it would be wrong to assume that Canada's "War on Terror" has been error-free. In fact, some of the mistakes that have been made are such that they present a serious threat not only to Canada but to the United States.

In early April 2005, when appearing before Canada's Senate Committee on National Security and Defense, the minister of public safety and emergency preparedness—the equivalent of the U.S. secretary of homeland security—stressed that, since September 11, the government had set aside nine billion dollars in new funding to secure the safety of Canadians.

In meetings with senior U.S. Cabinet members, Canadian ministers pointed to the passage of an omnibus security bill (similar to the USA PATRIOT Act). They referred to the allotment of additional funding for security purposes. They pointed to a number of task forces and framework agreements that have been established and to organizational restructuring of the bureaucracy. Unfortunately, in terms of practical steps to improve security, little has been done.

It is, of course, in Canada's interest to keep assuring our American neighbors that we take the War on Terror seriously. Over 90 percent of Canadian exports go to the United States. In the hours immediately after the September 11 attacks began, the border was closed to Canadian traffic. That brief interruption of the two-billion-dollar-per-day trade between the two countries sent a shock wave through Canadian business circles. It was suddenly made clear that the boast of the longest undefended border in the world was no longer valid. While Canadian concerns centered on economics and the rapid movement of goods and services across the border, U.S. concerns were now focused on the security of the border with Canada.

One might have thought that President Bush's declaration that security trumps trade would have registered with the Canadian government. Yet, when we examine Canada's reaction to the events of September 11 (and go beyond the rhetoric), we find a curious reluctance and hesitancy to take the terrorist threat seriously.

Even before that date, Canada was being criticized for not pulling her weight in defense spending and for allowing her military to be reduced to an embarrassing level. For example, Canada ranks ahead of only Iceland and Luxembourg when it comes to NATO spending.

A further cause for concern was Canadian prime minister Jean Chrétien's statement that the dreadful attacks were the natural consequence of the disparity between the United States and the "have not" nations of the world—a message that was not well received by the relatives of the victims or the U.S. government.

The sweeping security legislation passed shortly after September 11 was deceptive because its effectiveness relied on the government's willingness to identify and list organizations considered to be "terrorist." Only then could measures be taken against them.

Curiously, the government waited for months before listing such obvious terrorist organizations as Hamas, Hezbollah, the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, and the Armed Islamic Front as "terrorist." These organizations were finally listed after the Canadian government received pressure from the media, concerned citizens, and Jewish organizations. The Sikh terrorist

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organization Babar Khalsa, held responsible for the death of 329 Canadians in the bombing of an Air India jet in 1985, was only listed as a terrorist organization in June 2003. There are large concentrations of Sikhs in British Columbia and Ontario, and the government did not wish to alienate Sikh voters by labeling one of their organizations terrorist. It was only after the Canadian Security Service publicly identified it as such that the government added it to the list.

It is evident that the protection and safety of Canadians does not rank among the top issues of Canadian public policy. National security ranks far below the issue of "gay marriage," more liberal narcotic laws, and the legalization of prostitution.

Even today, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam—perhaps the most deadly terrorist organization in the world—have not been placed on Canada's terrorist list. The Tigers have not been listed because there are more than 250,000 Tamils living in Toronto and the surrounding suburbs.

Canada's sizeable Muslim population is rapidly growing. The numbers doubled from a quarter of a million in 1990 to over half a million ten years later. Muslims now outnumber Presbyterians, Pentecostals, Mormons, and Jews and are gaining on the Lutherans. By 2017, the Muslim population is expected to double to over 1.25 million.

As with other migrant groups, Muslims tend to reside in urban centers, and this concentration of numbers gives them enhanced political power. Muslims, Sikhs, and Tamils are strong supporters of the current liberal government. In any democracy, it is always difficult to get party politicians to act in the national interest when, by doing so, they alienate special interests who have the power to turn elections. Canada is no exception.

Such reluctance to take action is even more difficult to understand since, as early as the summer of 1998, the Canadian Security and Intelligence Agency reported to the Canadian Parliament that there were at least 50 terrorist organizations operating in Canada. The report also warned that a terrorist attack in North America was inevitable.

The most serious threat to North American security comes from Canada's lax asylum system. For years, Canada has had the most open and generous asylum system in the world. Until it is changed, everything that Canada or the United States might do to counteract terrorism will be undermined.

Any person who arrives in Canada and claims to be persecuted is permitted entry. The numbers are significant—approximately 30-40,000 each year. Since 1989, it is estimated that a half-million people have entered Canada in this fashion. Many arrive without documents, or with false ones, having been smuggled aboard aircraft by organized criminal gangs.

None of these people who claim to be persecuted has been screened for criminality, security, or health, yet few are detained even when their identity is unknown. They are released after being told to appear for a refugee hearing that may not take place for 18 months or more. With no tracking system in place, they are free to move about anywhere in Canada. Approximately 25 percent do not bother turning up for their refugee hearing.

Two years ago, the auditor general reported that there were 36,000 outstanding warrants for the arrest of failed asylum seekers. It is estimated that the figure would now be close to 50,000.

Immigration and law-enforcement agencies do not have the resources to hunt these people down, and little or nothing is being done to correct the situation.

Many thousands of asylum seekers come from terrorist-producing countries, but, upon arrival at our entry points, they are simply photographed, fingerprinted, and then released.

In the early 90's, Canada received a wave of asylum seekers from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. The majority of these, because of their francophone background, settled in Montreal. A number of these so-called refugees were active members of the Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA).

On December 14, 1999, one of them, Ahmed Ressam, was apprehended crossing into Washington state from British Columbia with his car trunk loaded with explosives to blow up the Los Angeles International Airport. He had entered Canada as an asylum seeker from Algeria. He did not bother to show up for his refugee hearing but instead traveled back and forth to Osama bin Laden's terrorist-training camps in Afghanistan.

Ressam is but one of many known terrorists who have entered Canada in this manner. There are now seven known terrorists in custody in Canada, and six of them entered as asylum seekers. They are under orders of deportation, but it is unlikely that those orders will be executed.

Lawyers argue that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms would be violated if these terrorists were to be removed and that, furthermore, all might be at risk of torture if they were returned. Since Canada is a signatory to the U.N. Convention Against Torture, it is unlikely they will be deported.

In April 2005, Fateh Kamel was released from a French prison. He returned to Canada after serving a portion of his sentence there for terrorist activities. Kamel had already obtained Canadian citizenship, so he entered as a returning Canadian. He has boasted that "killing is easy for me" and has been identified as one of the leading members of the GIA.

Canadian citizenship can be obtained after three years of permanent residence; consequently, many thousands of those who arrived in the 90's are now protected by citizenship status. The only way that citizenship can be revoked is if it can be proved that the individual obtained it by fraudulent means.

The Khadar family from Pakistan also recently obtained Canadian citizenship. The father, an associate of Osama bin Laden, was killed during a skirmish with security forces on the Pakistan/Afghan border. One of his sons is a prisoner at Guantanamo Bay. He was wounded and captured in Afghanistan after killing a U.S. soldier. Another son was released from Guantanamo and is now back in Canada but has freely admit-

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ted being a member of Al Qaeda. He has not been charged under the new security legislation.

In fact, since its passage, there has only been one person charged under Canada's new terrorist legislation: a 24-year-old Pakistani-Canadian who was involved in a plot to detonate a bomb in London. He was apprehended by British authorities. Nonetheless, despite its lack of use, this legislation is being attacked by Canadian rights activists who are demanding that it be watered down or withdrawn.

A federal judge recently ordered the release on bail of another Moroccan terrorist who was being held in jail awaiting deportation. He has complained to the court that his bail conditions, which require him to wear an ankle bracelet, are too severe and restrict his freedom of movement.

Canada now finds herself in a position where she cannot stop anybody from entering the country if he claims asylum, and she cannot remove or even detain known Al Qaeda terrorists. This is not a good situation to be in when your country has been put on Al Qaeda's hit list and your security service warns that it is not a question of *if* we will experience a terrorist attack but of *when*.

Despite all the evidence that Islamic terrorists are firmly installed in Canada, the government seems determined to undermine the safety and security of Canadians. On December 29, 2004, the government passed regulations requiring Canadian border officers to admit anyone who seeks entry at the land border with the United States who has been charged or convicted of an offense that might entail the death penalty. This regulation was not presented to the Canadian parliament but was passed quietly by order-council procedure without publicity. There are many in Canada who would applaud this politically correct gesture of exporting "Canadian values," but it is not helpful in the effort to fight terrorism. Instead, it is laying out a welcome mat for murderers and terrorists.

The government, however, continues to insist that it has taken the War on Terror seriously, despite a report in early April 2005 by the Canadian auditor general that enumerated a long list of critical security gaps ranging from the vulnerability of Canadian passports to poorly trained personnel assigned to respond to a terrorist attack.

That same week, evidence presented to the Senate Committee on Security revealed that there are 62 border posts that are not linked into the main watch-list computer system. The Senate also heard that 225 cross-border roads leading to and from the United States remain unguarded.

Canadian border guards are not armed and must rely on RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) backup if facing a dangerous situation. Recently, the RCMP have withdrawn their services in the province of Quebec, and, in many other areas of Canada, police detachments are unable to respond in less than an hour should a border emergency occur. Last year, there were over 100 incidents of automobiles from the United States crashing through border posts without examination. So much for a secure border!

It is evident that the protection and safety of Canadians does not rank among the top issues of Canadian public policy. National security ranks far below the issue of "gay marriage," more liberal narcotic laws, and the legalization of prostitution.

Unless there is a terrorist attack in Canada with great loss of life, or until the U.S. government gets really tough along the border, it is unlikely that much will change.

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Welcoming Muhammad

Abandoning That Which Is Our Own

by Scott P. Richert

In February 2002, *Chronicles*' associate editor Aaron Wolf and I spent a day at the Rockford Iqra School, a Muslim academy in Southeast Rockford. I chronicled the events of that day in "Through a Glass, Darkly," the April 2002 installment of *The Rockford Files*. The frank expression of admiration for Osama bin Laden by the chairman of the school (the assistant director of neonatology at Rockford's largest hospital) and the performance of Muslim raps about *jihad* by children as young as six were not what we, or our readers, expected. The reaction to the article was varied, ranging from anger—either because of my supposed "intolerance" to Muslims or because of my perceived evenhandedness—to shock, as readers admitted that they had no idea that such schools existed in the United States, much less out here, in the middle of Middle America.

The 43 children enrolled at that time at the Rockford Iqra School are a small portion of the children at the more than 600 Islamic schools nationwide. (Some estimates range as high as 1,000.) Today, the U.S. State Department officially estimates the number of mosques in the United States at over 1,200, but that is based on a survey conducted in the late 1990's; unofficial State Department estimates rise as high as 2,000. CNN notes that nearly 80 percent of those mosques have been built since 1990—after our first war with Iraq; of the rest, the bulk were built after the Islamic revolution in Iran.

In both the United States and the world at large, Islam has become the fastest-growing religion. In 1990, the Census counted 5.27 million Muslims; today, there are as many as 9 million Muslims in America. Most of that growth, again, occurred between 1990 and 2002. By 2000, the number of Muslims worldwide had exceeded the number of Catholics; by 2010, the State Department estimates that there will be more Muslims in America than there are Jews, making Islam the second-largest religion in America.

A Zogby poll in August 2000 revealed that almost 78 percent of Muslims in America are immigrants, most from the Middle East. "Approximately a third of American Muslims live on the East Coast (32.2%), 25.3% live in the South, 24.3% in the Central/Great Lakes Region, and 18.2% in the West." In other words, the bulk of the Muslim population is firmly in the heart of Middle America. Moreover, Muslim population growth in the United States is no longer driven primarily by immigration but by birthrate. Of the six children we interviewed extensively at the Rockford Iqra School, only one—a nominal Christian—had fewer than three siblings. And conversion is also contributing to the growth of Islam in America; a 2004 Zogby survey found that 20 percent of American Muslims are converts.

Muslim population growth in the United States has been accompanied by a sea change in American attitudes toward Islam over the past quarter-century. In 1979, one of the most popular songs on country-music stations began:

> Dear Mr. Ayatollah
> I know you think we're yella
> But you gotta learn you can't blackmail
> the good ole U.S.A.
> I hope the sand you eat
> fills your stomach like our wheat
> and you can shove your oil up your only holy place.

The jingoistic lyrics reflected a broad anti-Islamic sentiment brought about by the storming of the American embassy in Tehran and the taking of 40-some American hostages, all of whom were eventually returned. In 2001, however, after the greatest act of foreign terrorism ever committed on American soil, with over 3,500 dead, our government reacted quickly to try to prevent the development of similar sentiments, assuring us that true Islam is a "religion of peace" and that the men who committed and coordinated these acts are "fundamentalists" or "radicals" or "extremists" or "Islamists"—anything but good Muslims.

How is this even possible? What kind of society, after enduring the tragedy of September 11, continues not only to allow the coreligionists of the September 11 terrorists to flourish within its borders but to invite even more to cross those borders and take up residence within? The answer is simple: Only a dying society would accept the presence of such a fifth column. And only a society with a death wish would take the further step of praising that fifth column and encouraging its members to remain true to their religion of war.

In Europe and around the world, America's status as the only remaining superpower, and especially the Bush administration's willingness to use military means to achieve its foreign-policy goals, has left many with the impression that the United States is vibrant and strong. That impression is mistaken.

Far more important than U.S. military actions and belligerent rhetoric is the question of how we treat the potential enemy within. The Bush administration and the American media, in insisting that true Islam is a "religion of peace," are not simply playing a political game. They are firmly wedded to the postmodern doctrine of multiculturalism, an ideology that Pope Benedict XVI has rightly denounced as "an abandonment and denial of that which is one's own."

In contrast, Muslim leaders in the West hold no such illusions. As Kalim Siddiqui, the late founder of the Muslim Institute of London and the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain, writes in his book *Stages of Islamic Revolution*, "The West is frightened of Islam not because Islam is any different now than it was at any time in history; the West is frightened because its diplomatic and intelligence services and the media are report-

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Scott P. Richert is the executive editor of Chronicles.

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ing strong currents of convergence of Muslim political thought and methods of action in all parts of the world." And, a few pages later, "This terrifies the West; hence the word 'terrorism' and 'fundamentalism.'"

In the wake of September 11, Muslim schools across the country saw an upsurge in enrollment; in Rockford, the Iqra school's enrollment rose by close to 50 percent almost immediately, and it has continued to grow at a steady pace, attracting Muslim families from across the country to the area. In the long run, it does not matter whether more parents placed their children in the school because the events of September 11 somehow made them more acutely aware of their faith or whether they placed them there out of genuine concern that their children might be targeted in the wake of September 11. The effect is the same: More children are receiving the message of Islam, undiluted by the multicultural virus that afflicts Americans of European descent.

Even the military might of the United States may give Muslims cause for hope, because it is so often used in the service of multiculturalism. Islam claims to rise above nationality, and its ultimate vision is of a world united in submission to Allah, in which nation-states, as in the Marxist vision, have withered away. As Chesterton realized at the beginning of the last century, Islam may well be the ideal religion for the post-Christian West, because Islam and the modern project have the same ultimate goal—the destruction of the diversity and richness that flows from the Christian understanding of the Incarnation and its replacement with an homogenous, unitary state. As Siddiqui writes: "Once a global Islamic movement acquires global following and legitimacy, all States whose statehood is predicated on nationality may be considered under sentence of disintegration and death." The American-led destruction of such states aids Islam in its struggle, as does the emerging global culture of Disney, McDonald's, and Microsoft. The story of John Walker Lindh thus becomes a fable for our time.

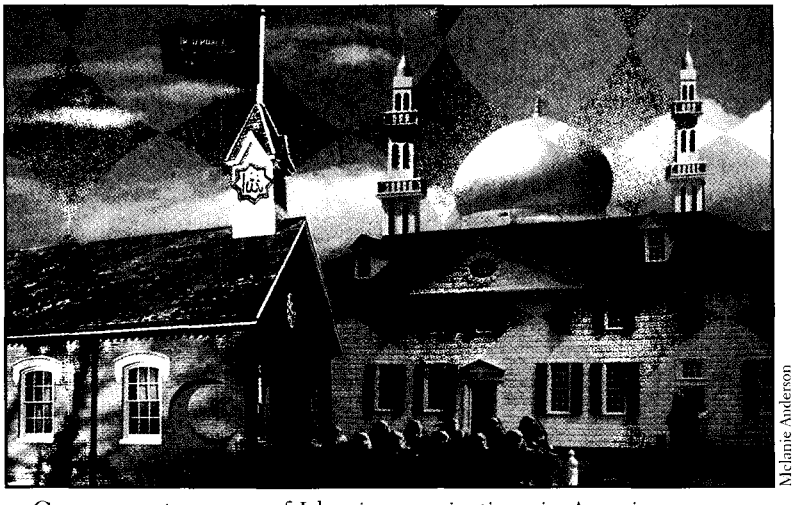
This is not an isolated view. Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, a former chairman of the board of trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, writes in *Muslims in the West: The Message and the Mission* that

> Islam is the most suitable religion for this land [America]. Had a union taken place between the two, the history of mankind would have taken a very different course. On the one side, the unbounded natural resources of America, the tremendous vitality, resoluteness and enterprise of its people; on the other, the moderation of Islam, its message of hope and confidence, its unequalled distinctiveness as the faith of nature, its insistence on the intrinsic innocence of man. . . . But, Islam is not the faith in America, a misfortune for this country and the world. The Western world opted for a religion which insisted on the doctrine of original sin, giving rise to the worst pessimism and leading man to believe that sin was his destiny. It did not raise the stature of man, but put the mark of disgrace on his forehead, persuading him to believe that he needed an "other" to redeem him by offering atonement for his misdeeds. . . . But now circumstances are taking a favorable turn. Muslims are migrating to America in a steady stream from different lands and for different reasons. There is no Islamic country whose finest young men are not found here. Lastly, a large number of enterprising people are also coming to it from the country where the Ka'ba is situated.

So-called mainstream Muslim organizations, such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations, which successfully pressured Boeing to convince *National Review* to quit selling Srdja Trifkovic's *Sword of the Prophet* on its website, share this rabidly anti-Christian vision of America. Imagine the outcry if a Christian organization had made a statement similar to the one uttered by Omar M. Ahmad, chairman of CAIR, in a 1998 interview with the *San Ramon Valley Herald*:

> Muslim institutions, schools and economic power should be strengthened in America. Those who stay in America should be open to society without melting, keeping mosques open so anyone can come and learn about Islam. If you choose to live here, you have a responsibility to deliver the message of Islam. . . . Islam isn't in America to be equal to any other faiths, but to become dominant. The Koran, the Muslim book of scripture, should be the highest authority in America, and Islam the only accepted religion on Earth.

This is not surprising rhetoric from a Silicon Valley entrepreneur who named his son Osama and worships at a mosque that, in the 1990's, raised money for Al Qaeda's second in command. What should be surprising is that CAIR is viewed by the U.S. government as a legitimate civic organization. Indeed, the State Department bases its official "Demographic Facts" on Islam in America on an April 2001 survey entitled "Mosque in America: A National Portrait," cosponsored by CAIR and the Indiana-based Islamic Society of North America.



Melanie Anderson

Government support of Islamic organizations in America goes far beyond accepting their surveys as the gospel truth. A massive article in *USA Today* on February 24 recounted the rise of *sharia*-compliant banks and mortgage-finance companies, glowingly comparing the head of one such company to Jimmy Stewart's character in the classic film *It's a Wonderful Life*. Rushdi Siddiqui, the director of the Dow Jones Islamic Index Group, told *USA Today* that, "Frankly, with 9/11, as with any tragedy, there was a silver lining. One of the silver linings . . . was a revival by Muslims to look inward to how they can be more compliant (with the Islamic faith)."

One way is to return to the traditional Muslim ban on interest. This, however, presents a business-model problem for

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Muslim mortgage companies. In order to make any money, they have to sell those mortgages to a secondary-mortgage marketer. Enter Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac—federally funded mortgage agencies that, one year after September 11, began purchasing mortgages from Islamic companies, lighting a fire under a market that has now reached $600 million.

In good Republican fashion, Fannie Mae account manager Colette Porter characterized the agency's efforts as part of the Bush administration's encouragement of faith-based initiatives: "Faith-based organizations have become trusted (financial) advisers in underserved communities," she told *USA Today*, begging the question of whether the federal government should be doing anything at all to help establish a Muslim beachhead in America by financing the purchase of property.

Those who understand the threat that Islam poses to the United States and Europe occasionally characterize such policies as selling Muslims the rope with which to hang us. But our death wish goes well beyond that: The Bush administration is now buying them the rope. The April 25 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* details a classified plan, which the administration has dubbed "Muslim World Outreach," that "calls for working through third parties—moderate Muslim nations, foundations, and reform groups—to promote shared values of democracy, women's rights, and tolerance." "In at least two dozen countries, Washington has quietly funded Islamic radio and TV shows, coursework in Muslim schools, Muslim think tanks, political workshops, or other programs that promote moderate Islam. Federal aid is going to restore mosques, save ancient Korans, even build Islamic schools."

The Bush administration undoubtedly views the Islamic Saudi Academy in Fairfax County, Virginia, as another faith-based initiative. In the case of the ISA, that faith has begun to bear fruit. Built and funded with money from the government of Saudi Arabia, the Islamic Saudi Academy lies just up the street from Mount Vernon. Ahmed Omar Abu Ali, valedictorian of his class at the Islamic Saudi Academy, was recently arrested for plotting to assassinate President Bush. Born in Houston, Ali, after graduating from the Islamic Saudi Academy, pursued religious studies in Saudi Arabia, where he joined an Al Qaeda cell in 2001 and where the plot was apparently concocted. Yet, in late April, while Ali awaited trial, President Bush walked around his ranch in Texas, holding hands in friendship with Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah.

Multiculturalism is "an abandonment and denial of that which is one's own," and, for Americans of European descent, Christianity is at the center of what is being abandoned and disavowed. Despite President Bush's profession of faith, his administration is, like the America it represents, at best post-Christian, and perhaps anti-Christian. With Christianity on the retreat in Europe and in America, it is no surprise that insurgent Islam is once again on the rise. If Americans truly believed in the Faith of their fathers, how likely is it that there would be an Islamic school in Rockford or an Islamic academy near Mount Vernon? The presence of these foreign elements is as much an indication of a failure of nerve on the part of Christians as is the mosque that has been erected in Rome. Until we abandon and deny the multiculturalism of our post-modern world, until we rise above our pathological self-hatred and return to the certainties of tradition and kinship and soil and memory, our faith will never match theirs in its intensity, and the *Dar al Harb* will, gradually but inexorably, be absorbed into the *Dar al Islam*. c

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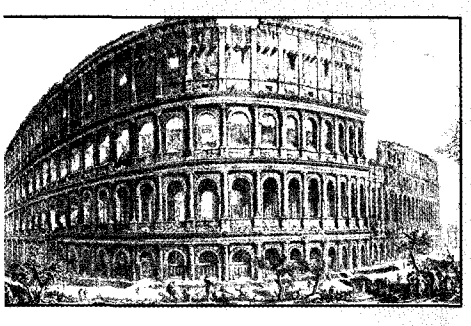

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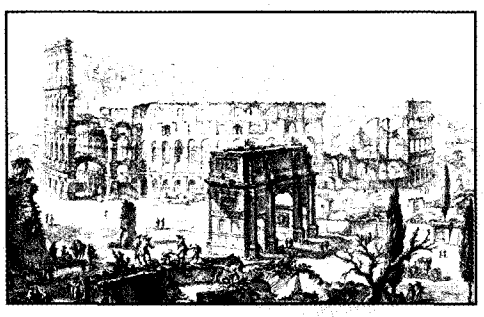

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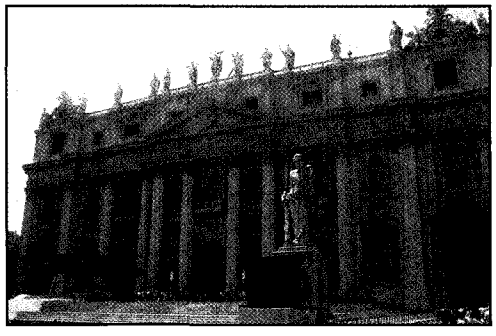

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Rivers of Blood

Immigration and Terror in a Time of Chaos

by Richard Cummings

"An idea which is a distortion may have a greater intellectual thrust than the truth; it may serve the needs of the spirit."

—Susan Sontag

"Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad. We must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependents, who are for the most part the future growth of the immigrant-dependent population. It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping its own funeral pyre."

—Enoch Powell

In Max Frisch's prophetic, absurdist masterpiece *The Firebugs*, a well-off family live in an unnamed city in which arsonists have been burning down the houses. One of the firebugs, posing as a peddler, appears at their home asking for food and shelter. Notwithstanding all the evidence that Sepp Schmidt is undoubtedly one of the arsonists, Gottlieb Biedermann, the husband, allows him to sleep in the attic. His wife, Babette, is troubled but acquiesces. Filled with guilt for firing his best employee, Herr Knecktling, who never appears, Gottlieb Biedermann assuages his guilt with what he believes is an act of charity.

Biedermann then welcomes Schmidt's friend, Willie Eisenring, into his house, although he arrives carrying an arsenal of gasoline barrels. Eisenring flatters him by professing admiration for his way of life. Biedermann soon realizes he has let the notorious firebugs into his house but believes that, by displaying generosity, he will make his house immune to them. Ignoring the obvious clues as to their intent, he even helps Eisenring measure out a fuse, denying to himself that the firebugs have chosen his house because it is located next to the gasworks. Much like the jihadist clerics who openly preached hatred of Britain and her values and to whom the British government granted asylum, Eisenring declares that "the best and safest method" for hoodwinking people "is to tell the plain unvarnished truth."

What is missing in *The Firebugs* is a character who sees and understands what is going on and shouts at the top of his lungs that there will be a disaster but who is ignored and even vilified. In light of the attacks of July 7 in London and their repercussions, it is increasingly obvious that this character in the history of British immigration policy is Enoch Powell.

Richard Cummings taught international law at the Haile Sellassie I University in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and holds a Ph.D. in Social and Political Sciences from Cambridge University. He is an international lawyer, author, and playwright.

Powell, who died in 1998 at the age of 85, was an urbane and superbly educated man. He studied classics at Cambridge and became a professor of Greek at the University of Sidney at 26. He spoke five languages fluently. Elected to Parliament as a Tory, he rose meteorically in British politics as a compelling orator and skillful infighter. In his personal attitudes, he was hardly racist. According to Ted Heath, Powell told Harold Macmillan's cabinet that it could face down British nurses in a pay dispute "because I can bring in all the nurses we need from the West Indies."

But Powell, unlike Susan Sontag, had no use for a distortion of the truth because it was good for the spirit. One such distortion, for which he had no use, was the Commonwealth. "Nations live by myths," Powell often observed, and to Powell, according to Ronald Hansen in *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain*, "the Commonwealth was an errant myth and a dangerous myth." Indeed, the Commonwealth was the very vehicle that proved to be the basis for British multiculturalism and the entry into the country of its own firebugs.

Just following World War II, the nonwhite population of the United Kingdom was approximately 30,000 in a country of a population of 50 million. This was all to change. The British Nationality Act of 1948 (BNA), designed to shore up the United Kingdom's relationship with the "Old Commonwealth" of Canada, New Zealand, and Australia (because these old dominions were central to its economic and foreign policy), was not, Hansen insists, "designed to facilitate and did not anticipate, non-white immigration." Nevertheless, because it created a scheme of imperial citizenship, it allowed some 800 million British subjects around the globe—the vast majority from nonwhite developing countries—the right to enter the country indefinitely and became the legal framework for the emergence of British multiculturalism.

Randall Hansen regards this phenomenon as "incredible," particularly since it ran directly against British public opinion

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and the 1945-50 Labor government's rejection of Commonwealth immigration as a way to solve the labor shortage. But because former colonies such as India, and the Muslim entity that became Pakistan, as well as countries such as Jamaica, had no right to prohibit citizens from leaving, and because, by virtue of the act, there was no way for Britain to prohibit them from entering, what started out as a trickle became, with the availability of cheap transport, a flood.

Given increasing British prosperity and the living conditions in what became known as the Third World, that this should have come as a surprise is astonishing. Yet throughout the administrations of Churchill and Eden, efforts to curtail immigration were ultimately rejected. Decisive in the debate was the position of Alan Lenox Boyd, the colonial secretary, who threatened to resign if immigration restrictions against nonwhite British subjects were enacted. Insisting that such legislation would be "fiercely resented" in the West Indies, Africa, and Asia, he asserted that "I must therefore record that I could not agree to legislation confined to Colonial immigrants" and effectively vetoed any efforts to curtail nonwhite immigration.

Conservative leaders concluded that doing anything that might be construed as "racial discrimination" was impossible to justify. In fact, the Tory hierarchy viewed Cyril Osborne and other conservative proponents of restrictions on nonwhite immigration with disdain, fearing a liberal backlash.

It is Ronald Hansen's contention that liberal, pro-immigration opinion in British governmental institutions, including Parliament, persisted and always ran counter to British public opinion that favored increased restrictions. When restrictions were adopted, they were the result not of institutional racism, as many British scholars have contended, but the outcome of public pressure that was resisted, so that restrictions were delayed as long as possible. This analysis makes sense if one looks at the restrictions that were ultimately adopted, and how they were reversed, starting in 1993, by a series of measures and actions designed to circumvent them, as well as by the influx of numerous undocumented "migrants," in the parlance of the United Kingdom.

The first of these restrictions, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, adopted in 1962, drew a distinction between the rights of the U.K. born and U.K.-passport holders and the rights of those who held passports issued by former British colonies, and it required that people from former British colonies, such as India, Pakistan, and Jamaica and other Caribbean islands, be placed under immigration controls, with the requirement that they secured employment and that they possessed specific skills to enter the United Kingdom Adopted in the shadow of the Nottingham and London riots of 1958, it had the reverse of its intended affect. As Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah and Francesca Hopwood Road have written in "United Kingdom: Rising Numbers, Rising Anxieties,"

> Fear of further restriction motivated many to treat the 1962 act as a final opportunity to settle in the UK. Many temporary labor migrants, as well as those who had already settled permanently, took advantaged of family reunification provisions, thus increasing immigration from those countries in the short-term.

Moreover, with its many categories, it was far more liberal than it appeared at first blush.

With racial tensions mounting as the result of increased immigration, Harold Wilson's Labor government moved to adopt the 1965 Race Relations Act, which sought to diffuse the growing hostility to the immigrants by outlawing discrimination in public places such as hotels, public houses, restaurants, and entertainment or recreation venues, and created a race-relations board to mediate disputes. It also extended the Public Order Act of 1936 to prohibit "the dissemination of written matter which is threatening, abusive or insulting, with intent to provoke a breach of the peace or whereby a breach of the peace may be occasioned" and defined it as an offense "for a person, with intent to stir up hatred against an ethnic or racial group, to disseminate written matter, or in a public place, or a public meeting to use speech, which is threatening, abusive or insulting and likely to stir up hatred against that group on grounds of race or colour." It was under this provision that Enoch Powell would be threatened with criminal action for his 1968 address.

Powell viewed "integration" as a chimera because of racial and cultural differences and argued that increases in nonwhite immigration would lead to a tipping point in race relations that no legislation could cure. Because integration was bound to fail, Powell asserted that violence would be inevitable if current levels of immigration continued.

At the same time, the Wilson government promised to enforce immigration restrictions and to close loopholes, calling for Commonwealth immigrants to be required to register with the police, with the home secretary having the power to repatriate any such person who had outstayed the period for which he had been admitted. As for further restrictions, when Lord Mountbatten returned from a visit to Commonwealth countries to discuss immigration (Pakistan refused to receive him), he reported back that such restrictions would be viewed with considerable hostility. It was a balancing act worthy of Herr Biedermann.

Then, like Biedermann firing his best employee, Home Secretary Callaghan in the Labor government announced that the United Kingdom, under the 1968 Commonwealth Immi-

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gration Bill, would no longer recognize the passports of Asians fleeing Kenya as the result of "Africanization" policies. Even as they were fired from civil-service jobs, restricted to certain areas, and driven out of key sectors of the economy, what they regarded as their sole security, their British passports, which had given them unrestricted entry into the United Kingdom, were rendered useless, with some 200,000 people made stateless.

With a growing fear about the size of the jihadist fifth column in Britain, Blair has instituted draconian measures that threaten to turn one of the world's greatest, if not the greatest, liberal democracies into a police state. There is no figure comparable to Powell in the country to pose a serious challenge to the major parties.

Callaghan's rationale for the 1968 bill was that, for Britain to become a multiracial society "free of strife" (an objective he embraced), she had to strike "the right balance between the number of Commonwealth citizens we can allow in and our ability to ensure them, once here, a fair deal not only in tangible matters like jobs, housing and other social services, but, more intangibly, against racial prejudice." In one stroke, he turned the Asian Kenyans into the Jews of Africa, giving rise to ensuing guilt and the need for charitable acts.

With Asian Kenyans barred from entry (the Uganda Asian crisis would come in 1972), other Commonwealth nonwhite immigrants continued to come to Britain in a steady flow. This set the stage for Enoch Powell to enter the immigration debate, as multiculturalism started to become a distinct possibility.

Hansen defines "multiculturalism as a sociological fact, i.e. a multicultural society is one in which a substantial portion of the population (5% or more) is made up of non-European migrants and their descendents, when these migrants/descendents have origins in diverse regions." Today's Britain qualifies by this definition, as Powell predicted.

Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech, which he delivered in Birmingham on April 20, 1968, was a spirited attack on the proposed 1968 Race Relations Bill and called for major restrictions on immigration. Speaking to his constituency, he uttered the words that would cause close friends in the party such as Iain Macleod to disown him and force Heath to dismiss him from his Shadow Cabinet position because he considered the speech "racialist in tone":

> As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding. Like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood." The tragic and intractable phenomenon which we watch with horror on the other side of the Atlantic but which is there interwoven with the history and existence of the States itself, is coming upon us here by our own volition and our own neglect.

In actuality, Powell's position did not digress much from official Tory policy and, in hindsight, seems not extreme. He first observed that there is a big difference in a country such as the United Kingdom between a one-percent nonwhite minority and a ten-percent nonwhite population. Powell viewed "integration" as a chimera because of racial and cultural differences and argued that increases in nonwhite immigration would lead to a tipping point in race relations that no legislation could cure. Anticipating the anti-integration movement among the nonwhite immigrants themselves that would become pronounced in the decades to follow, he called for drastic restrictions on immigration and saw curtailment as necessary when the percentage started to exceed tolerable limits. Because integration was bound to fail, Powell asserted that violence would be inevitable if current levels of immigration continued.

In line with Tory attitudes, he further argued for "re-emigration" that was not forced but was based on incentives. Lastly, Powell advocated equality for all races in Britain, without any group benefiting from special treatment. Relying on Britain's ancient common law, he opposed antidiscrimination measures that interfered with private persons' freedom of association both in human relations and in commerce. In this respect, he opposed both forced segregation and forced integration.

Speaking at a Rotary Club meeting in Eastborn on November 16, 1968, he defended his Birmingham speech, stressing the need for a "programme of large-scale voluntary but organized, financed and subsidized repatriation and re-emigration":

> Sometimes people point to the increasing proportion of immigrant offspring born in this country as if the fact contained within itself the ultimate solution. The truth is the opposite. The West Indian or Asian does not, by being born in England become an Englishman. In law he becomes a United Kingdom citizen by birth; in fact, he is a West Indian or an Asian still. Unless he be one of a small minority—for number, I repeat again and again, is of the essence—he will by the very nature of things lose one nationality without acquiring a new one. Time is running against us and them. With the lapse of a generation or so we shall have at last succeeded—to the benefit of nobody—in reproducing in "England's green and pleasant land" the haunting tragedy of the United States.

As if to bear out Powell's thesis on immigration, there is the example of one of the July 7 bombers, born in Britain of par-

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ents from Pakistan, who was rootless in Britain but, on traveling to his family's hometown in Pakistan, found it completely alien, becoming ill on the food. In blowing himself up, taking numerous British along with him, he created, together with the other bombers, the river of blood Powell had predicted. All of the bombers, including the unsuccessful ones and their circle, caught later, resisted integration and lived in communities that sealed themselves off from the rest of British society. The militant jihadist Muslim preachers to whom the United Kingdom had granted asylum, notwithstanding their violent rhetoric, influenced them.

Both Egyptian Sheikh abu Hamza al-Masri, an open supporter of Osama bin Laden who was granted asylum in Britain and who became a citizen through marriage, and Syrian Sheikh Omar Bakri Mohammad (who was thrown out of Saudi Arabia and is banned from Syria and whose website carries messages from Bin Laden—yet he was granted asylum in Britain) bear an uncanny resemblance to the firebugs, Sepp Schmidt and Willie Eisenring. By creating a multicultural critical mass, Britain allowed these jihadist mullahs to set fire to their country. Instead of advocating allegiance to Britain, which they openly revile, they exhort their recruits to be part of the *Ummah*, the global Islamic nation in a struggle to destroy the West.

Polls show that Osama bin Laden is immensely popular in the self-segregated Muslim communities of Britain, where large numbers of the inhabitants acknowledge no sense of identity with the United Kingdom and her institutions. With a growing disillusionment in Britain with multiculturalism, there is an overriding sense that integration has failed and that the numbers have something to do with it. And, while there is no plan for mass repatriation, new draconian policies set in place by Tony Blair have already led to deportations, with the home secretary announcing that ten people would be deported at once. Bakri, who fled the country for Lebanon, has been told he will not be allowed to return.

But what of Powell's overall impact on actual British immigration policy? Hansen insists that, out of power, he had a great influence, driving Britain to adopt increasingly restrictive measures. After the speech, he became the most popular figure in Britain, with the National Front taking up his cause.

But shrewdly, Margaret Thatcher co-opted his supporters, marginalizing him and the National Front. As secretary of state for education and science in Heath's cabinet, she pushed Heath to adopt the Immigration Act of 1971, which, according to Sriskandarajah and Road, favored "immigration by individuals 'of British stock,' including immigrants from Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia, and encouraged white immigration from former colonies by increasing the scope of permanent settlement on the basis of kinship and predominantly European descent." The 1971 act also limits admission of certain family members of U.K. citizens. This was followed, under Thatcher as prime minister, with the 1981 British Nationality Act, which, for the first time, defined a specific British citizenship, limiting the right of residency exclusively to those in possession of it, thus purportedly further limiting immigration. Hansen sees all of this as being derived from Powell's influence, although Powell himself told Hansen he believed he had no effect at all. Ever the realist, he was undoubtedly right.

In his "Rivers of Blood" speech, Powell reflected on his constituents who told him they would prefer to live elsewhere and hoped their children would. Recent figures show that these wishes are becoming a reality. Many British nationals, mostly white, have been moving out, settling in such countries as Australia, New Zealand, and even Spain. If we combine this factor with that of increased nonwhite immigration, net inflows have exceeded 100,000 per year.

In 1993, 1996, 1999, 2002, and 2004, the United Kingdom passed important pieces of legislation on immigration and asylum. They were allegedly attempts, according to Sriskandarajah and Road, "to manage increasingly large and complex flows of people into the UK, particularly through the asylum channel." "These laws were also associated," they related, "with large increases in the size and budget of the Home Secretary, the UK's immigration department, as the system tried to respond to growing numbers of asylum claims and a broadening of labor migration schemes."

In actuality, what the U.K. government did was to use asylum and labor-migration schemes to undercut the restrictive measures adopted under Thatcher that were regarded by liberals as racist. In an act of doublespeak, the Blair government published in February 2005 its five-year strategy entitled "Controlling our borders: Making migration work for Britain." It did this in advance of the May 2005 election to, as Sriskandarajah and Road put it, "restore pubic confidence in Blair and his government's handling of the asylum and immigration system; to set out the current system; and to put forward plans for future management." The strategy worked. Michael Howard and the Tories were unable to play the immigration card. In Great Britain, diversity was now a kind of god, and immigration produced diversity.

As the prince of Wales famously proclaimed,

> [L]et me say how much pleasure the whole idea of diversity gives me. All the people from diverse backgrounds, black, brown, yellow, and the like, represent an amazing and very jolly cross section of the different communities that make up Britain. In my view, this should be a source of pride, not envy or resentment. I fully understand the problems and difficulties experienced by immigrant communities in Great Britain. What we need, I think, is a level of civilized tolerance in a multi-racial society.

July 7 has changed all of that. With a growing fear about the size of the jihadist fifth column in Britain, Blair has instituted draconian measures that threaten to turn one of the world's greatest, if not the greatest, liberal democracies into a police state. Until now, the BNP, which has won a handful of local elections in Bradford, and the U.K.I.P, which has picked up some support nationally, have been relatively insignificant factors. There is no figure comparable to Powell in the country to pose a serious challenge to the major parties. But one thing is certain: To paraphrase Marx, there is a ghost that haunts Britain, and it is the ghost of Enoch Powell. As Powell said at the start of the Birmingham speech, "[T]he discussion of future grave but, with effort now, avoidable evils is the most unpopular and at the same time the most necessary occupation for the politician. Those who knowingly shirk it, deserve, and not infrequently receive, the curses of those who come after." c

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The Dishonest Pursuit of War

Remembering Downing Street

by Doug Bandow

President George W. Bush's recent attempt to generate public support for his Iraq policy comes as even more evidence emerges that the invasion of Iraq was a war of choice. His argument that we must persevere because Iraq has become "a central front in the war on terror" sounds like the man who kills his parents and then throws himself on the mercy of the court for being an orphan.

It has long been evident that leading White House officials desired war against Iraq well before September 11. Dick Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz, and others had pressed the Clinton administration for regime change. In 2002, then-NSC advisor Condoleezza Rice told Richard Haass, the State Department's policy chief, "that decision's been made." A CIA analyst concerned about the unreliability of the defector code-named Curveball was told by his supervisor that "the powers that be probably aren't terribly interested in whether Curveball knows what he's talking about."

Thus, the year-long debate in the United States and at the United Nations was mere Kabuki theater, irrelevant to the preordained result. The war never was in doubt.

This makes the Bush administration's lack of preparedness for the consequences of war particularly shocking. Having taken a year to plan the invasion, why did the President's aides not do a better job preparing for the aftermath?

Although the President's determination to go to war irrespective of Saddam Hussein's actual weapons capabilities has long been evident, any remaining doubt was eliminated by the so-called Downing Street Memo and related documents, which revealed both British attitudes and American policies.

Although Iraq was not involved in the terrorist attacks of September 11, an allegation contrary to fact became the excuse to turn preexisting desires into policy. British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw noted, in a memo dated March 25, 2002, that, "If 11 September had not happened, it is doubtful that the US would now be considering military action against Iraq."

On July 23, 2002, foreign-policy aide Matthew Rycroft wrote a memo for the British cabinet summarizing a briefing by Richard Dearlove, then head of MI-6, Britain's intelligence agency, for Prime Minister Tony Blair and other officials. Rycroft observed that "It seemed clear that Bush had made up his mind to take military action, even if the timing was not yet decided." At another point, Rycroft allowed: "Military action was now seen as inevitable."

Public debate obviously was pure pretense, since, Rycroft explained, "The NSC had no patience with the UN route, and no enthusiasm for publishing material on the Iraqi regime's record." Indeed, he added, Geoff Hoon, Britain's defence secretary, had reported "that the US had already begun 'spikes of activity' to put pressure on the regime." That was probably an understatement. The London *Times* recently reported that "The RAF and US aircraft doubled the rate at which they were dropping bombs on Iraq in 2002 in an attempt to provoke Saddam Hussein into giving the allies an excuse for war." In November 2002, Rear Adm. David Gove, then-deputy director of global operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that pilots of both nations were "essentially flying combat missions."

Alas, observed Rycroft, enthusiasm for war was not enough: "The Attorney-General said that the desire for regime change was not a legal base for military action." A Cabinet Office paper entitled "Conditions for Military Action," prepared on July 21, 2002, acknowledged that "Regime change per se is not a proper basis for military action under international law." Foreign Secretary Straw similarly wrote that "regime change per se is no justification for military action."

A separate options paper developed by the Overseas and Defence Secretariat on March 8, 2002, noted that no legal justification for war "currently exists. This makes moving quickly to invade legally very difficult."

Washington, observed the anonymous memo writer, believed a legal justification to exist. But what? "[T]here is no justification for action against Iraq based on action in self-defence." To the contrary, observed Peter Ricketts, then-political director of the Foreign Office, in a memo dated March 22, 2002, "It sounds like a grudge match between Bush and Saddam."

Rycroft reports that the United States believed that the goal of removing Hussein from power was "justified by the conjunction of terrorism and WMD." But "The case was thin. Saddam was not threatening his neighbours, and his WMD capability was less than that of Libya, North Korea or Iran."

On March 18, 2002, Britain's ambassador Christopher Meyer lunched with Paul Wolfowitz, who, he reported to Downing Street, "thought it indispensable to spell out in detail Saddam's barbarism." But, Meyer noted, that was not enough for war. Moreover, he continued, Wolfowitz thought "it was absurd to deny the link between terrorism and Saddam." Yet Wolfowitz himself seemed to repudiate that position the following year when he allowed that even the Bush administration was divided over the issue.

The options paper also stated that "Saddam has not succeeded in seriously threatening his neighbours." And, it added, "there is no recent evidence of Iraq[i] complicity with international terrorism."

Ricketts made similar points: The "US scrambling to estab-

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lish a link between Iraq and Al Qaida is so far frankly unconvincing." Moreover, "the pace of Saddam Hussein's WMD programmes" had not changed since September 11. Nor, said the options paper, was there any "greater threat now that he [Hussein] will use WMD than there has been in recent years, so continuing containment is an option."

Still, observed Ricketts, it was "necessary to create the conditions" that would make an invasion legal. So Washington came up with an ingenious solution. According to Rycroft, "the intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy."

This was eight months before the United States, aided primarily by Great Britain, invaded Iraq.

Several strategies were invoked, including a push to reintroduce U.N. weapons inspectors to provide a pretext for war. The Cabinet Office paper observed that "an ultimatum for the return of UN weapons inspectors to Iraq" might help create "the conditions necessary to justify government military action." Indeed, the writer later noted, "It is just possible that an ultimatum could be cast in terms which Saddam would reject." Foreign Secretary Straw added: "I believe that a demand for the unfettered readmission of weapons inspectors is essential, in terms of public explanation, and in terms of legal sanction for any subsequent military action."

Yet the legally minded British worried that the Bush administration might carelessly provoke Baghdad into war. The Cabinet Office memo feared that military action could be "precipitated in an unplanned way by, for example, an incident in the No Fly Zones," in which Washington had been aggressively bombing—the "spikes of activity" noted earlier.

The significance of Rycroft's Downing Street Memo has been dismissed by some, including Michael Kinsley of the *Los Angeles Times* and Tim Cavanaugh of *Reason*. After all, much of its contents are hearsay, and it only tells us what we already knew. The Bush administration has largely ignored its existence, while Tony Blair has pointed to the fact that the Bush administration ultimately went to the United Nations—even though Washington always indicated that it would act irrespective of what the U.N. Security Council decided.

Taken together, however, the memos paint a far different picture than that presented by George W. Bush to the American public. The documents discredit the President's disingenuous claim that military action would be a last resort. Indeed, in his speech before invading, the President said: "We are doing everything we can to avoid war in Iraq"—which was a blatant, shameful falsehood. The Bush administration's elaborate show, put on with great fanfare at home and before the United Nations in early 2003, alleging Baghdad's terrorist connections and WMD programs, was just that. (Prime Minister Tony Blair looks no more honest: "[A]ll the way through that period of time, we were trying to look for a way of managing to resolve this without conflict," he responded when asked about the Downing Street Memo. "The decision was not already taken.")

In fact, the Iraq war was a matter of choice, not necessity. And the Bush administration's goal was never disarmament. It intended to overthrow Saddam Hussein irrespective of any diplomatic initiative, the reintroduction of U.N. inspectors, or Hussein's compliance with any U.N. resolutions.

Perhaps most tragically, the memos forctold the catastrophic mismanagement of the so-called peace. Rycroft noted that "There was little discussion in Washington of the aftermath after military action." David Manning, then Blair's chief foreign-policy aide, wrote the prime minister on March 14, 2002, advocating that Blair should "not budge either in your insistence that, if we pursued regime change, it must be very carefully done and produce the right result."

The options paper stated that "The greater investment of Western forces, the greater our control over Iraq's future, but the greater the cost and the longer we would need to stay." Foreign Secretary Straw worried that the United States had not answered "how there can be any certainty that the replacement regime will be better." After all, he added, "Iraq has had NO history of democracy so no-one has this habit or experience."

White House spokesman David Almacy has tartly responded to the memos, claiming that "There was significant post war planning." That claim, if true, is even more damning, given the actual consequences. Nonetheless, evidence of serious planning is in short supply. After looting swept occupied Baghdad, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said simply, "Stuff happens."

Although Iraq was not involved in the attacks of September 11, an allegation contrary to fact became the excuse to turn preexisting desires into policy. British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw noted that, "If 11 September had not happened, it is doubtful that the US would now be considering military action against Iraq."

However mistaken the U.S. government's decision to invade, finding an acceptable exit will be difficult. Concerning Bill Clinton's war in Kosovo, then-candidate George W. Bush observed that "Victory means exit strategy." Now, however, he believes that America must remain entangled for years. What Press Secretary Scott McClellan calls the administration's "strategy for success" just looks like more of the same.

As the administration calls upon the rest of us for support, it is paying a price for its previous deceits. By an amazing 49-to-44-percent plurality, Americans blame President Bush more than they blame Hussein for the war. And 60 percent of Americans want to withdraw at least some U.S. troops—with only one third willing to wait until a stable government is formed. Unfortunately, there is ample reason to distrust the President. The promises he and his officials make in the future will be no easier to believe.

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The Lone Ranger's Legacy

Chief Justice William Rehnquist, R.I.P.

by William J. Watkins, Jr.

After serving for more than three decades on the U.S. Supreme Court, Chief Justice William Rehnquist died on Saturday, September 3, at the age of 80, having lost his battle with thyroid cancer. With Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's recent announcement of her retirement, there are now two vacant seats on the Court. Just over a day after Rehnquist's death, President Bush announced his nomination of Judge John Roberts (whom he had formerly nominated to replace Justice O'Connor) as the next chief justice. As the Bush White House prepares for nasty confirmation fights, pundits and scholars are reflecting on Rehnquist's legacy.

Although the Rehnquist Court has left its imprint on criminal law, affirmative action, and a host of other areas, it will forever be associated with federalism. Chief Justice Rehnquist's enemies on the left accuse him of leading a constitutional revolution that curtailed the powers of Congress. The enervated Articles of Confederation, we are told, have replaced the Constitution of 1787.

His critics on the right complain that the federalism revolution is better described as an unsuccessful skirmish. They also take umbrage at Rehnquist's constitutional "flexibility," which he exhibited in *Dickerson* v. *United States* (2000), in which he affirmed that police officers must read suspects their *Miranda* rights. Rehnquist had been a harsh critic of the Warren Court's *Miranda* decision, but he upheld it because the warnings had "become a part of our national culture"—hardly sound justification grounded in the text and history of the Constitution.

President Nixon appointed Rehnquist to the Supreme Court in 1972. He became a member of the "Nixon Four," along with Justices Warren Burger, Harry Blackmun, and Lewis Powell. Today, such a bloc would be described as "centrist." In the wake of the Warren Court's jurisprudence, these justices were "conservative" and a threat to the new rules of constitutional law established in the 1950's and 60's.

Rehnquist had observed the beginnings of the Warren Court when he clerked for Justice Robert Jackson in the early 1950's. In 1957, Rehnquist wrote a scathing article for *U.S. News and World Report* criticizing his co-clerks for their "extreme solicitude for the claims of Communists and other criminal defendants, expansion of federal power at the expense of State power, great sympathy toward any governmental regulation of business—in short, the political philosophy now espoused by the Court under Chief Justice Warren."

In the months following his appointment to the Supreme Court, Rehnquist proved himself to be the most conservative of the Nixon Four and earned the "Lone Ranger" moniker. In those early years, he often found himself alone when articulating the conservative position on various legal issues. Though new to the Court, Rehnquist distinguished himself through well-reasoned dissenting opinions. His dissent from Harry Blackmun's majority opinion in *Roe* v. *Wade* (1973) has become a classic indictment of judicial activism:

> The decision here to break the term of pregnancy into three distinct terms and to outline the permissible restrictions the State may impose in each one . . . partakes more of judicial legislation than it does of a determination of the intent of the drafters of the 14th Amendment. The fact that a majority of the [states] have had restrictions on abortions for at least a century is a strong indication, it seems to me, that the asserted right to an abortion is not "so rooted in the traditions and conscience of our people to be ranked as fundamental."

Rehnquist's dissent in *Roe* was but a taste of things to come. Three years later, Rehnquist authored the first modern Supreme Court opinion to limit Congress's authority under the Constitution's Commerce Clause. In *National League of Cities* v. *Usery* (1976), the Court confronted congressional extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act's minimum-wage and maximum-hour requirements to employees of state and local governments. Writing for a 5-4 majority, Rehnquist held that the law would "impermissibly interfere [with] integral governmental functions" and that it would "significantly alter or displace the States' abilities to structure employer-employee relationships." At base, the opinion in *National League of Cities* recognized the sovereignty of the states and sought to interpose to restore some balance to federal-state relations. It would be the first shot fired in the so-called federalism revolution.

To Rehnquist's disappointment, the controversial *National League of Cities* decision did not last a decade. In *Garcia* v. *San Antonio Metropolitan Transit Authority* (1985), Justice Blackmun, who had joined Rehnquist's opinion in *National League of Cities*, jumped ship and delivered a majority opinion overruling Rehnquist's handiwork. The *Garcia* majority thought *National League of Cities* unworkable and held that the Framers intended the states to look to the political process—not to the courts—for protection of their reserved powers. Blackmun recognized that, with direct election of senators, the states no longer had representatives in Congress (*viz.*, they were no longer participants in the political process). Despite acknowledging the infirmity in his reasoning, Blackmun could not articulate an alternative option for state self-defense.

Shortly after the *Garcia* decision, President Reagan appointed Rehnquist chief justice of the Supreme Court. The Senate confirmation process turned ugly with allegations of harassing

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black voters in Arizona in the 1960's, mishandling a family trust, and being insensitive on various racial issues. Weathering the attacks, Rehnquist was confirmed by a 65-33 vote.

By most accounts, Rehnquist was an efficient chief justice with exceptional organizational skills. He quipped that he would like to be remembered as a good administrator. Perhaps professional court watchers will remember him for these mundane matters, but the rest of us will associate Rehnquist and his Court with federalism.

The constitutional shot heard round the Beltway came in 1995 when the Court decided *United States* v. *Lopez*. This case dealt with the constitutionality of the Gun-Free School Zones Act, which prohibited the possession of firearms near school premises. The federal government argued that the act was a proper exercise of Congress's power to regulate interstate commerce. The possession of a firearm in school zones, the government contended, could affect the functioning of the American economy by hindering classroom education and thus result in an unproductive workforce. The Rehnquist Court rejected the government's argument, fearing that such reasoning would permit Congress to "regulate any activity that it found was related to the economic productivity of individual citizens." The Constitution had limits, the Court announced, and these limits were transgressed by passing a criminal statute under the guise of the Interstate Commerce Clause.

Five years later, the Court built on the *Lopez* foundation in *United States* v. *Morrison* (2000). In *Morrison*, the Court rejected the government's claim that crimes of violence motivated by sex affect interstate commerce so as to permit the creation of a federal, private right of action. The regulation of such conduct, held the Court, bore no relation to economic activity and was outside Congress's reach.

During this same period, the Rehnquist Court struck statutes imposing unfunded federal mandates on the states. For example, in *Printz* v. *United States* (1997), the Court invalidated interim provisions of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act requiring local police officers to conduct background checks on handgun purchasers. It would be counter to our scheme of divided sovereignty, explained the majority, for Congress to command state officials to implement federal programs:

> This separation of the two spheres is one of the Constitution's structural protections of liberty. Just as the separation and independence of the coordinate branches of the Federal Government serve to prevent the accumulation of excessive power in any one branch, a healthy balance of power between the States and the Federal Government will reduce the risk of tyranny and abuse from either front.

Such a clear expression of the Constitution's first principles was characteristic of the Court's federalist jurisprudence under Rehnquist.

With the Chief Justice ailing from thyroid cancer, the wheels of the federalism revolution came off in June 2006. In a 6-3 decision in *Gonzalez* v. *Raich*, the Court considered whether Congress could prevent two critically ill women from growing and using marijuana for medicinal purposes. Relying on precedent from the New Deal, the Court extended Congress's power to encompass the most ordinary intrastate activities. So long as the activity can be characterized as the production of a commodity (*e.g.*, a tomato plant grown on an apartment balcony), Congress has the power to regulate it. It does not matter that the tomatoes are meant only for their grower's dinner table and that none of the implements used in the cultivation ever traveled in interstate commerce. With the *Raich* decision, the Court foreclosed the possibility that *Lopez* and *Morrison* would be extended to place strict limits on Congress's authority.

Raich, we are told by progressive commentators, is a Thermidorian reaction to the excesses of Chief Justice Rehnquist's federalism. From 1995 to 2002, in its most aggressive phase, the Rehnquist Court struck all or portions of 31 statutes. The judicial activism Rehnquist criticized in his *Roe* dissent, these commentators argue, became a hallmark of the Court under his leadership. With *Raich*, the Court has resumed its "proper" deference to acts of Congress. If the states believe that Congress is treading on their reserved powers, they should turn to the political process as Justice Blackmun suggested in *Garcia*. The constitutional order that existed prior to *National League of Cities* has been restored.

Conservative commentators, on the other hand, note that, for all the hoopla around *Lopez* and its progeny, these opinions left the Court's most expansive Commerce Clause precedents intact. Justice Clarence Thomas, although he concurred in the result of *Lopez*, warned in 1995 that the analysis used by the *Lopez* majority gave Congress a general "'police power' over all aspects of American life." Hence, *Raich* is the end of a revolution that never really was.

The truth is somewhere in between. Conservative critics are correct to point out that the Rehnquist Court's decisions have done little to slow Congress's legislation mill. A quick scan of the U.S. Code leaves the impression that Congress is omnipotent. There are few areas of American life that federal legislation does not touch. Moreover, Congress can easily circumvent the supposed limitations of the Rehnquist Court's federalism cases. For example, the Court permits Congress to use the "spending power" of the General Welfare Clause to reach objectives falling outside the Constitution's enumeration of powers. Congress taxes state citizens, offers state governments these "federal funds," and then attaches myriad conditions to the receipt of the money. If Congress wants a state to waive its sovereign immunity from suit or to implement a federal regulation, it may condition some federal benefit or dollars on the state's compliance with Washington's wishes. Viewed in this light, the Rehnquist Court's federalism cases are largely symbolic.

We must remember, however, that these symbolic cases could prove highly instructive to future generations willing to launch a true federalism revolution. Before *National League of Cities*, American lawyers were brought up on New Deal and Warren Court case law that ignored the concept of dual sovereignty. Congress was treated like the British Parliament; it could make or unmake any law as it saw fit.

Through its federalism cases, the Rehnquist Court exposed American lawyers to a forgotten history of constitutional law—a history of a limited federal government deferring to state governments on a variety of issues. It did not lead a federalism revolution, but the Rehnquist Court did focus attention on the forgotten first principles of the Old Republic.

Thus, it is premature to judge the success or failure of the Rehnquist Court. Its legacy rests in the hands of future generations and their efforts to return America to a functioning federal republic. c

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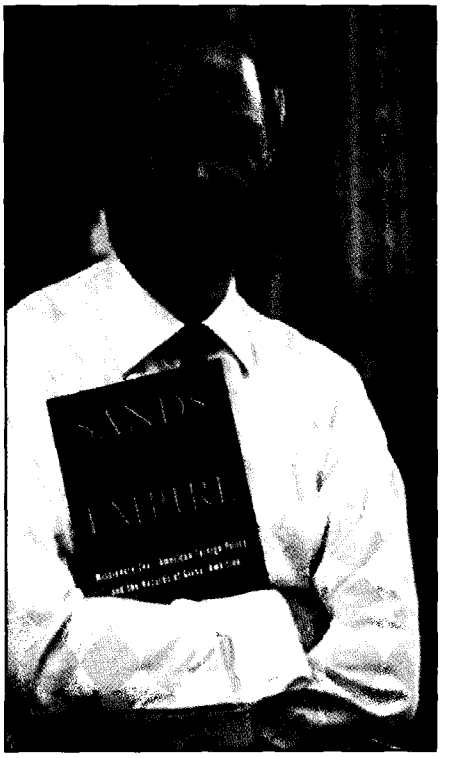
Progress in the Sands

by Daniel McCarthy

"The mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation."
—William McKinley

Sands of Empire: Missionary Zeal, American Foreign Policy, and the Hazards of Global Ambition
by Robert W. Merry
New York: Simon & Schuster;
303 pp., $26.00



What sets *Sands of Empire* apart from the growing list of books scrutinizing the Bush administration's foreign policy is its philosophical ambition. Where other authors have contented themselves with estimating the neoconservative influence on America's strategic posture or describing the nation's slouch toward a garrison state, Robert Merry puts the global misadventures of the last three presidents into the context of *Weltgeschichte*. Behind neoconservative and Clintonite interventionists alike, Merry identifies an erroneous philosophy of history that subordinates all concrete cultures—and, indeed, concrete facts—to the idea of unceasing and inevitable Progress.

Merry, the publisher of *Congressional Quarterly* and formerly a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, has written a book that is part intellectual history, part policy brief, and always with a lay readership in mind. Early chapters survey the development of Progress, a peculiarly Western notion with delusions of universality, from the 18th-century Abbé de Saint-Pierre and the Encylopaedists to Francis Fukuyama and Thomas Friedman. This intellectual lineage alone is enough to discredit the belief in man's continual improvement, for it illustrates in the world of ideas the process that Francis Galton called the regression toward mediocrity. Against the ideologies retailed by these progressive thinkers, Merry offers a cyclical interpretation of the rise and fall of great—but ultimately mortal—civilizations, drawing upon the work of Spengler, Toynbee, and Samuel Huntington. He enlists J.B. Bury and Robert Nisbet to good effect as well in respect of their criticisms of Progress, though he leaves unmentioned Nisbet's reservations about the cyclical alternative.

For adherents of Progress, differences across civilizations—of language, culture, religion, and ethnicity—are all so much ephemera, destined either to assimilate to one another or to fade away as the developing world catches up with the West, which means, in practice, Muslims eating McRibs at 24-hour fast-food chains while Africans celebrate the new sacraments of democracy and human rights. America's role in all this is supposed to be that of a midwife—or, as Friedman has put it with singular vulgarity, "Attention Kmart shoppers: Without America on duty, there will be no America Online." Fukuyama, for his part, recognizes at least that there is a price to be paid for fulfilling the *telos* of the human race: "In the post-historical world there will be neither art nor philosophy, just the perpetual caretaking of the museum of human history."

Merry does not believe a word of it. His views are congruent with Spengler's, and, like Spengler, he believes the West has already passed its zenith. Globalization does not mean Westernization, and it certainly does not herald the disappearance of cultural differences. On the contrary, Merry agrees with Huntington that globalization is leading to more intense ethnic and religious identity politics. The best hope for America and Europe in such a world is to avoid unnecessary conflicts with other civilizations while protecting the West's vital interests with military force—a strategy that Merry calls "conservative interventionism."

By contrast, "humanitarian interventionism," of the sort exemplified by George H.W. Bush's deployment of troops in Somalia and Bill Clinton's war on Serbia, promises to embroil the United States in unwinnable wars for utopian goals. Yet Merry is able to demonstrate how the ideology of Progress, articulated by journalists at such publications as *Time* and *Newsweek*, drives the country

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into just such morasses. The book's chapters on Serbia and Kosovo provide an excellent capsule summary of the complex history that the respectable media's terrible simplifiers ignored in urging America to war. Selling such liberals as Warren Zimmerman, ambassador to Yugoslavia, on using American bombs and aircraft to settle 800 years of civilizational conflict in the Balkans was an easy task, given their predisposition to believe in the moral imperative and historical inevitability of the triumph of human rights. A surgical strike here and a smart missile there would surely be enough to dispel a few trivial ethno-religious prejudices. Besides, as Madeleine Albright once asked Colin Powell, "What is the point of having this superb military that you're always talking about if we can't use it?"

A similar armed doctrine of Progress animates the neoconservatives. That some neocons in the late 70's and early 80's criticized the application of humanitarianism to foreign policy is only an apparent contradiction. Yes, Irving Kristol once wrote,

> The proper extent of political rights in any nation is not something our State Department can have a meaningful opinion about. It can only be determined by the people of that nation, who will draw on their own political and cultural backgrounds . . .

But Merry shows that for the neocons, "the underlying principles shift to fit the advocacy of the moment," while their "tendency to see the world in stark terms of good and evil" leads them to

> a generally unnuanced view of the global challenge, divorced from the political and global complexities that often force presidents to pursue their goals with flexibility, deftness, and patience.

Criticism of Jimmy Carter's toothless moralizing in foreign policy was one thing; but when circumstances changed and the neoconservatives had sympathetic—and militarily adventurous—administrations to work with, they quickly adjusted their rhetoric to fit the new reality.

Merry is, if anything, too charitable here. He draws on the work of Mark Gerson, a neoconservative himself and hagiographer of the movement, to conclude that "There is no distinctly neoconservative bedrock of postulates or assumptions that provide a consistency of advocacy"; neoconservatism is simply a tendency or persuasion. In accepting Gerson's view, however, Merry risks undercutting his own argument. In fact, the dedication of neoconservatives to progressive ideology is strong, consistent, clear, and on display whenever they discuss immigration. For neoconservatives, America is not a people or a lived culture but an abstraction, a proposition. As Irving Kristol himself has admitted, for them, America is an ideological country—or perhaps just an ideology—in the same way that the Soviet Union once was. Evangelizing for the American proposition may entail practical difficulties (democratizing the world takes time), but the underlying justification is always plain: The national interest is synonymous with an ideology of Americanism. Exporting the ideology thus makes the country safer, regardless of the degree to which democracy is at stake in any given situation.

Merry omits any discussion of the neoconservative commitment to an expansive view of what is best for the state of Israel. Certainly, the identification of American with Israeli interests is a dogma of their ideology that cannot be seen as mere loyalty to a U.S. ally, or even an outgrowth of prudential concern for the well-being of the Israeli people, since the policies advanced by neocons are, if anything, likely to prove even more disastrous for Israel than they have already proved for the United States. The neocon belief that wars to Americanize the world will make Israel more secure is simply irrational, an article of faith—like the idea that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the withering of the state.

In addition to humanitarian interventionism and neoconservative adventurism—two variations on the same theme—three other foreign-policy fallacies, Merry contends, have beset the nation over the last century. One of these, now largely extinct except for its echoes in neoconservative belligerence, is the imperialism of Theodore Roosevelt, modeled after that of 19th-century Britain. This strain flourished only briefly: "An astute politician, Roosevelt could see the limits of his vision," Merry writes. Liberal isolationism, arising in reaction against the Vietnam War, has revealed itself to be similarly evanescent, prospering only in the final days of the Cold War. After that, and with a Democrat in the Oval Office again, such liberal doves as Joe Biden and Paul Wellstone quickly assumed the plumage of humanitarian interventionism.

As for right-wing isolationism, Merry acknowledges its popularity in the interwar period and gives conservative critics of interventionism a modicum of credit. He believes that conservative isolationism might yet enjoy a resurgence:

> it would be unwise to dismiss it for all time, because it is a doctrine that could be brought back to life through events. Should America's ventures into the world come to tragedy, with American lives thrown into turmoil and despair, the country's electorate might very well turn to conservative isolationism as an avenue for returning America to a time of stability and safety.

But ultimately Merry rejects an America that refrains from trying to shape the world by the use of subterfuge and force. He opts instead for conservative interventionism, which

> at its best . . . focuses on limited goals of stability fostered through strength and balance-of-power global politics. It accepts the world as it is . . . It embraces the ideas of Western civilization and assumes America is not only part of it but remains its primary protector.

In his closing chapter, Merry makes his case for this strategy. However, he frames his argument against the woolly assumptions of humanitarian bombardiers and neocon revolutionists. His case is valid as far as it goes, but it disregards the criticisms that conservative isolationists—properly speaking, noninterventionists—level against his contentions. For one thing, the "greatest exponent of conservative interventionism," in Merry's own words, was Franklin Delano Roosevelt. "He sought to ensure . . . that America's foreign policy was intertwined with Britain's." One need not be a diehard critic of America's entry into World War II to think that something is amiss here. According to Merry, Roosevelt "put a mighty squeeze on Japan as a way of forcing America into the global conflict." But if simply getting the United States into the war was virtue enough, surely a liberal interventionist could have

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done the thing better—he would not have waited for an attack on Pearl Harbor. On the other hand, if a foreign policy that puts American lives, rather than British interests, first is the proper object of a conservative strategy, provoking the Japanese into attacking us surely would have been the last thing a prudent leader should have done.

A more recent example of conservative interventionism bears fruit even more bitter. Merry is right to say that George H.W. Bush set the precedent for humanitarian warfare in the 90's by sending U.S. forces to Somalia. But before that action, the author claims, the first President Bush's foreign policy had been marked by conservative interventionism, as illustrated by the overthrow of Manuel Noriega and, above all, by the first Gulf War. The latter, we are told, amounted to a proper defense of America's vital interest in oil, which

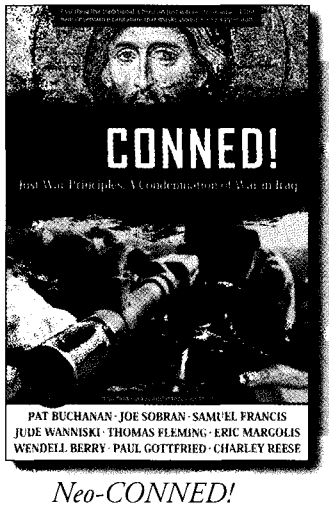
> fueled the Western economy, made possible the commerce that fed, clothed, and housed the peoples of the West, and propelled the U.S. military that in turn served as a force for international stability.

Yet, even if this picture were accurate, the price of interventionism must be borne in mind. The first Gulf War, with its stationing of American troops on the Arabian Peninsula, paved the road to the attacks on September 11, 2001.

Pearl Harbor and the attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center provide a strong *prima facie* indication of what is wrong in conservative interventionism. But are attacks on American soil simply the price we pay for the policies needed to keep us free, or at least rich? Leon Hadar has made several arguments in his recent book *Sandstorm: Policy Failure in the Middle East* that suggest otherwise. Unless Saddam Hussein has more unusual bathing habits than anyone has hitherto suspected, the only thing he could do with whatever oil he acquired from Kuwait was to sell it. The same would hold true assuming he could have conquered Saudi Arabia as well. In that event, he would have been in a position to meddle with world oil prices more dramatically—while even that eventuality would not have been catastrophic for the United States, which, as Hadar points out, does not (contrary to popular perception) obtain most of her oil from the Middle East. Conservatives might also wonder whether rising oil prices—which necessarily produce incentives to develop other sources of energy and for individuals to walk more and drive less—are always such a bad thing.

What higher prices at the pumps might do is lead the American electorate to turn its wrath upon political incumbents. For the managerial class in this country, such upheavals are too horrible to contemplate. And while there could be a danger in such an event of replacing our current feckless leaders with more radical demagogues, in the era of Bush the Second that prospect seems unimaginable.

The hazards accompanying his policy prescriptions notwithstanding, Merry's book is thought provoking and perceptive, easily one of the most valuable contributions to the foreign-policy debate of the last decade. Robert Merry, who recognizes the present struggle between civilizations for what is, makes a penetrating critic of neoconservatism and the overt left alike. As a study of the baleful consequences that follow from the idea of Progress, *Sands of Empire* merits a place on any informed conservative's bookshelf. c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Setting History Straight

by Paul Gottfried

Wie der Daschihad nach Europa kam. Gotteskrieger und Geheimdienste auf dem Balkan
by Jürgen Elsässer
St. Pölten, Vienna, Linz: NP Buchverlag; 246 pp., €19.90

◆

Having sensed in the 1990's that most European and American reporting about the Balkans was suspect, I find that this investigative study by a young German journalist, associated with the publication *Junge Welt*, fills in gaping holes in the received account of a controversial phase of recent history. Contributing to my uneasiness over the establishment's presentation of the Balkan unrest was the contradiction between two situations: the supposedly desperate plight of the outnumbered and out-armed Muslim population in Bosnia and Kosovo and the fact that the Muslim armies not only held on there but, in the Krajina, managed, with the aid of Croatians and mysterious foreign volunteers, to dislodge Serbian populations. There was also the problem of the uneven reporting about which ethnic minority was committing what when and against whom. Thus, while the Serbs' shelling of Sarajevo in 1992-93 and the Srbrenica massacre of captured soldiers and some civilians in 1995 received considerable news coverage, very little came through, as Jürgen Elsässer points out, concerning the Muslims' wholesale murder of Serbs—a carnage that may have involved as many as 3,000—in Sarajevo in 1993. Nor did one learn from the Western media about the torture and killing of at least 1,000 Serb captives at the Muslim internment camp at Celebici. Bosnian Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic visited this camp and reviewed its soldiers while murder and rape were still going on there; unlike both the Muslim commander he appointed to this camp and the Serb military leader Radovan Karadzic, Izetbegovic was never prosecuted for war crimes before his death in 2003.

I knew in advance of reading this book about one case of distorted reporting that Elsässer brings up: the bloody bombing of the marketplace in Sarajevo that occurred in February 1994. French journalist Elisabeth Lévy had anticipated Elsässer's revisionist account by several years, while reports as early as 1994 in *Nouvel Observateur* suggest that the French premier Edouard Balladur suspected that Muslims had blown up the Sarajevo marketplace in order to pull NATO peacekeeping forces deeper into the conflict. It is telling that the self-proclaimed voice of French conscience, Bernard-Henry Lévy (no relative of the more honorable Elisabeth), proclaimed in *Le Monde* (February 8, 1994) that "*ceux qui posent la question sont des salauds.*" Presumably, those who looked at the mounting evidence linking the Muslims to the Sarajevo atrocity (which Elsässer reviews) have no status in a discussion among French humanitarians.

Equally upsetting is that, in 1997, the Republican majority in Congress drafted a resolution scolding President Clinton, National Security Advisor Anthony Lake, and James Galbraith, the U.S. ambassador in Croatia, for "turning Bosnia into a militant Islamic base." The resolution referred unmistakably to arms deals in which Lake had been involved, including the transfer of rockets from Iran to Bosnian Muslim forces. By 1999, however, the Republicans in Congress were hot to trot when Clinton proposed the bombing of Serbian forces in Kosovo. The painfully detailed information Elsässer packs into fewer than 200 pages—excluding the introductory chapter and his reflections, at the end, about September 11 and current American energy concerns—makes his book difficult reading. No one can reasonably accuse the author of not having done his spadework on multiple trips to the troubled region he examines. Elsässer's core chapters, and the accompanying notes, are worth picking through for the massive refutation they offer of what most of the Western elite press was reporting about the Balkans throughout the 90's. Whether Elsässer is discussing the importation of *mujahideen* armies into Bosnia and Kosovo, Albanian drug deals, the operation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Bosnia before the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Al Qaeda activities in the Balkans, or American violations of the Dayton Accords by the imposition of an arms embargo on all Balkan belligerents, the result is to contradict the disinformation Americans were fed about unprovoked Serbian aggression against innocent Muslims.

Whatever else Elsässer accomplishes, he does manage to discredit the pro-Muslim and anti-Serbian account of events. He also causes one to wonder how anyone with his head screwed on straight could have believed that Izetbegovic and his associates in the Bosnian Muslim government, Muhamed and Hasan Cengic, all of whom had close contacts with radical Muslims going back to before the 90's, were devoted to a religiously pluralistic Bosnia. Even less can it be understood how a sensible Western leader could have believed that the gargantuan Muslim arms-smuggling agency known as the Third World Relief Organization (centered in Vienna) was really about philanthropy. Elsässer cites evidence that Western heads of state, including Clinton, knew better than to parrot the party line. During the alleged "Serbian shelling" of the Markalé marketplace in Sarajevo, everyone and his cousin recognized the strong possibility that Muslim terrorists were to blame. But they carefully refrained from expressing these thoughts too loudly—the way the Anglo-American side went on lying about the Soviet massacre of Polish officers even after the outcome of World War II was no longer in doubt.

There is, however, one imbalance about this otherwise illuminating work that fairness obliges me to mention. Elsässer understates leftist support for the misconceived Western intervention on the Muslim side. Not all Germans who favored the Muslim and/or Croatian causes thought of themselves as "renewing the Nazi alliance system," and it is doubtful that such a trip down memory lane dominated the minds of Helmut Kohl or his foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, both of whom hastened to recognize the independence of Slovenia (which had fought against Germany in World War II) as well as that of Croatia. The German left, led by the ferociously antinational Jürgen Habermas and the Berlin *Tageszeitung*, were ecstatically pro-Muslim; and almost the entire German left opposed the Serbs as the enemies of a European multicultural society. Both Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright misrepresented or blurred the events of World War II to make it appear that, somehow, the Balkan Muslims were then anti-Nazis, while the ever-manipulative Elie Wiesel employed the term *genocide* to describe the fate of the ex-Nazi Muslim popula-

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tions in the Balkans and their Muslim terrorist helpers.

There was a pro-Western, pro-Croatian side in the war, which I personally favored, and my sympathy may have been partly attributable to the fact that, in World War I, four of my uncles fought on the Austrian side, together with the Croatians, against the Serbs and the Russians. But from what I can tell, and as Elisabeth Lévy suggests, the pro-Croatian sympathizers were less hysterical than the pro-Muslim multiculturalists. And without the distraction created by the multiculturalists, the slimy business interests that Elsässer exposes would not have profited so lucratively from arms sales to the Bosnian Muslims and the Albanians.

It may also be useful to note that the recognition of Croatian and Slovenian independence in December 1991 was not universally seen as tied to Bosnian Muslim designs. Elsässer is correct in arguing that one development accelerated the other and that, from the 1970's forward, Muslim fundamentalists were planning to take over Bosnia and to marginalize or expel the majority Christian (Serbian and Croatian) population. But this succession of events was not one that those who rooted for the Croatians and Slovenes necessarily hoped to see unfold.

What is demonstrable, however, is that the efforts made to preserve a multicultural society in Bosnia and Kosovo helped strengthen Muslim terrorists. And unlike the aid given to the Taliban in their struggle against Soviet aggression in the 1980's (which might have been justified in terms of the Cold War), the strategy Elsässer documents makes no political sense, representing as it does the triumph of multicultural illusions, in the same way as did the events leading to this summer's bombing of London tube stations and a London bus. The pro-Muslim side was at work there, too, as it had been in the Clinton administration and throughout Western Europe in the 90's, particularly among those English I heard on TV, who were loudly blaming the violence on the failure to provide Muslim immigrants with sufficient social services.

Contributing editor Paul Gottfried is the author, most recently, of Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt.

Art and Artist

by Catharine Savage Brosman

Writers and Personality
by Louis Auchincloss
Columbia: University of South Carolina Press; 125 pp., $24.95

◆

This collection of essays, generally short, on some two dozen authors, chiefly novelists, underlines "the delight of great books," to borrow a phrase from John Erskine. It fits the definition that Anatole France (one of the writers treated) gave of literary criticism: "*les aventures de son âme au milieu des chefs-d'œuvre*" ("the adventures of one's soul amid masterpieces"). The straightforward approach emphasizes the ways in which authors' personalities (understood broadly) shape or are revealed in their creations. The book stands in striking contrast to much of what has passed for literary criticism in America in recent decades, under the unfortunate influence, absorbed too readily, of various French mandarins, among them Jacques Derrida, with their theories of authorship. Auchincloss's very title, implying the premise of his volume, would be nonsensical if he were to grant Derrida and his followers that, each text always referring regressively to other texts and "discourses" (as words are defined by other words), writers always speak in the voice of *others*, that is, *no one*. "Criticism and philosophy took note of the disappearance—or death—of the author some time ago," announced Michel Foucault in 1969.

Fortunately, independence of mind and letters of literary nobility—a distinguished production comprising 60 works of fiction and nonfiction—have allowed Mr. Auchincloss to ignore entirely that claim and others by which postmodernist critics would kill off literature. These other claims include attacks on the idea of human identity and the assertions that the self is only a linguistic construct, that the real is without the least meaning, that writing is impossible—an obvious self-contradiction for writers—and that language always leads to the constitution of an imperialism. Henri Mitterand, an eminent Zola scholar, summarizes these postmodernist arguments (which he rejects): "If the subject, in his identity, authenticity, homogeneity, autonomy, is only an illusion, a fortiori all his supposed mastery over his thought and language is denied." In a recent attack on the near elimination of biographical criticism from the French *lycée* curriculum in literature, Mitterand adds, with broad sarcasm: "The history of a writer, his being, his confrontation with the world and history? Surely you're not thinking of it."

In addition, Auchincloss has not been paralyzed by the dogma of the New Criticism that dominated American literary studies in the mid-20th century—illustrated in *The Well-Wrought Urn* by Cleanth Brooks and W.K. Wimsatt's *The Verbal Icon*—an approach that, while acknowledging the biographic and ontological authority of those who produce literature, treated it—especially poetry—as disengaged from its authors' lives and minds and from all intentions or authorial presence, as though, like Athena, it had sprung fully formed from the head of Zeus or were a strange organic object, found on some distant island, subject only to its own laws. Nor is Auchincloss a slave to any body of psychological thought—again, a pleasant contrast to the oppressive and reductionist psychological interpretation, mostly Freudian, sometimes Jungian, generally wrongheaded, which literary criticism long featured.

The premises here are that words have meaning; that the world to which they refer is real; that selves truly exist; that literature affords not only aesthetic pleasure but insight; and that authors put into their work, by various means, a great deal of themselves, on occasion to its detriment, more frequently as its wellspring. Auchincloss quotes Sam A. Lewisohn's statement in *Painters and Personality*: "In the creation of significant art the personality of the artist is the decisive factor." This may not apply always, Auchincloss acknowledges; but, of course, wanting to *suppress* one's personality, or allowing it oblique entry, is revealing, too (as was the case with Flaubert, an author treated here, who expressed the ideal of circulating in his fictional world like God in His—present everywhere, nowhere visible—and yet, in a famous quip, also said, "*Madame Bovary, c'est moi*"). What of authorial personality materializes in the work is often, Auchincloss believes, for readers' greater edification, although, he notes, some may be uncomfortable in its presence. It is an organic and legitimate dimension; hence, knowing something about it, or identifying it, enriches one's

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understanding of the work.

Whereas 19th-century literary criticism (Hazlitt, Sainte-Beuve, Taine, and less cautious followers) often overemphasized the connections between author and works, going so far, for instance, as to extrapolate from Shakespeare's poems and plays to portray the man, Auchincloss is more cautious and sensitive; he avoids naive identifications, oversimplified causal relationships between writer and writing, and other deterministic reasoning. (Reductive biographical criticism has not disappeared, as a 2004 book by Stephen Greenblatt on Shakespeare, *Will in the World*, illustrates.) Ties between an author and his fiction, and the characters in that fiction, may be very complex, mediated through various literary devices. The work can even escape from the author, revealing, against his apparent intentions, his secrets, his obsessions. Even if literature is often confession, the latter may be artificial, the product of a mask or pseudoself. And while acquaintance with writers' personalities as revealed through other sources may shed light on their works, the man or woman as observed by his contemporaries may appear very different from the authorial figure manifested in the work. I shall add that, perhaps, as Paul Valéry observed, an author's relationship with his work may be a reciprocal one: The writer creates the work, but it can also "create" the writer—create the man capable of producing it.

Among the authors examined here are several British novelists: Thackeray, Trollope, the Brontë sisters, Eliot, Meredith, and Forster; the American writers Hawthorne, James, Henry Adams, Wharton, Dreiser, Cather, Lewis, Marquand, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald; and, from France, two classical dramatists (Corneille and Racine), Mérimée, Proust, and those mentioned earlier. The approach to Fitzgerald is illustrative:

> *The Great Gatsby* glows with the reflection of the personality of F. Scott Fitzgerald. It is all there: the casual disillusionment with the meanness and hypocrisy of the everyday world, and the rising above it with the aid of wit, nonchalance, fatalism, alcohol, constant partying, temperate friendships, and temperate love affairs—but above all with the aid of a strong innate sense of personal superiority. Yet nothing can alter the fact that this hedonism in Fitzgerald is always darkened by the sense of its briefness.

Similarly, on Forster, whose precepts in *Aspects of the Novel* are less rigorous than some critics intimate and who appears as a flexible practitioner of the genre: "E.M. Forster put more of himself into his fiction than any other great English novelist since Thackeray. He never hesitated to insert what was frankly his own personal point of view." Of Anne Brontë, Auchincloss observes that, if her personality had been allowed freer entry into her fiction, rather than being stifled by didacticism, she might have been almost the equal of her sisters. Meredith, to whom nearly 30 pages are devoted despite his low standing among critics now, clearly interests Auchincloss especially. Meredith was known to be reticent; hence, perhaps, the spilling over of his personality into his books. He

> is always present to his readers. He is sitting, so to speak, before us, and chatting at considerable length . . . about the vicissitudes of his characters, commenting freely and frankly on their oddities and the problems with his devious plots, expressing his views on politics, military preparedness, and the corrupting vulgarity of a money-mad society . . .

James, "that self-appointed cleaner-up of the messy Victorian novel," receives a very astute reading, from which slavish praise is absent. Auchincloss traces his attitude and conduct after Fort Sumter and his pretensions to heroism—in connection to his fiction, where observers are granted the same authority as participants. (James appears also as a critic and fellow reader, being quoted on Meredith, Wharton, on what Auchincloss calls "the strong and seemingly unbreakable ties between the lives of the three Brontë sisters and their novels," and the way Emma Bovary reflects Flaubert's own romanticism.) George Eliot, whose *Middlemarch* is called "the greatest novel of manners of the Victorian age," expressed elsewhere "a personality very different from the bright and colorful scenes that she so brilliantly evoked"—as in *The Mill on the Floss*, where "she allowed the deep and serious aspect of her own grave character to permeate her pages." Concerning the famous (though overstated) impassiveness of the author of "Carmen," Auchincloss quotes from Walter Pater to argue that personality can be revealed in its very repression: "Mérimée's superb self-effacement, his impersonality, is itself but an effective personal trait, and, transferred to art, becomes a markedly peculiar quality of literary beauty." Similarly, Auchincloss is right to observe that, although Proust attempted to distance himself from his first-person narrator in *Remembrance of Things Past*, he constantly lets in through the window what has been chased out the door: his obsession with Jews (he was half-Jewish) and their place in society, his even greater obsession with homosexuality and perversions that, apparently, he practiced himself, then projected onto other characters.

Writers and Personality furnishes a short course in both literary creation and literary appreciation, reminding one of books one has read, others one has not but should, how these works were shaped by their authors' intimate selves, and what that may reveal. The style is literate, lively, engaging; one is almost in a literary salon. John Updike—who certainly knows his books—is right to compare the book to what Edmund Wilson used to provide. Only occasional typographical errors and wrong or missing accents in French distract from the smooth, pleasurable experience of reading enlightened criticism that serves as the handmaiden, not the executioner, of literature.

Catharine Savage Brosman, professor emerita of French at Tulane University and honorary research professor at the University of Sheffield, has published numerous works of poetry and prose, including The Muscled Truce *(LSU Press).*

Habemus Papam

by Gregory J. Sullivan

The Rise of Benedict XVI: The Inside Story of How the Pope was Elected and Where He Will Take the Catholic Church
by John L. Allen, Jr.
New York: Doubleday; 249 pp., $19.95

◆

In response to the badgering of reporters during the interregnum about whether the new pope would be a liberal or a conservative, Justin Cardinal

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Rigali of Philadelphia responded that the next pope will be Catholic. With the election of Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger as Pope Benedict XVI, the Church has not only a Catholic pope but one whose immense erudition and personal holiness guarantee a flourishing papacy. In *The Rise of Benedict XVI*, John Allen, Jr., the capable and well-informed Vatican correspondent for the *National Catholic Reporter*, provides a fair and balanced, if somewhat slipshod (no doubt reflecting the great haste of its composition), account of the elevation of Pope Benedict XVI and what may be expected from him during his reign.

The first half of Allen's book is excellent reporting on the events surrounding the conclave. He begins with a poignant depiction of the death of Pope John Paul II, about whose papacy he offers a graceful appreciation. As dean of the College of Cardinals, Cardinal Ratzinger was at the center of all the events immediately following the demise of Pope John Paul II, and Allen demonstrates how this prominence led to the eventual election of Ratzinger as the 265th pope. Allen is absorbing on the rather complicated politics surrounding a papal election.

In the second half, Allen provides a biographical portrait of Ratzinger and an outline of the issues he will face. As often happens in our media-saturated age, even with the microscopic coverage of the election of Benedict XVI, the media portrait of him was, and remains, risibly wrong. The embarrassingly crude caricatures of Ratzinger as "God's rottweiler" and the like could not be more false. Far from being a kind of Teutonic intellectual thug, Ratzinger is, as any reader of his elegant autobiography, *Milestones*, understands, one of the most brilliant men in the Church and—as he said upon his elevation—"a simple and humble worker in the vineyard of the Lord."

Allen's book eschews caricature. He instead gives us a sound and occasionally insightful sense of Benedict XVI's character and his enduring theological concerns. Allen concisely identifies the core of this theology:

> Fundamentally, Ratzinger has long been concerned that the Christian message, that God entered history in the person of Jesus Christ in order to mark out a path to salvation, one that does not vary with time or fashion, becomes jeopardized in a cultural environment that has largely abandoned the concept of objective truth.

The rejection of objective truth is a profound problem; in a homily on the day the conclave began, Ratzinger denounced what he called, in a striking phrase, the "dictatorship of relativism." Politically and culturally, this relativism has devoured the heart and soul—not to mention the population—of Europe. As a young man growing up in Nazi Germany, Ratzinger witnessed first-hand the catastrophe of truth relativized and manipulated by ideology. More importantly, it threatens the very essence of Catholicism. Allen is astute in his summary of the problem:

> Relativism is . . . not merely a modern version of ancient heresies such as Monophysitism or Pelagianism, which distort one or another element of the Church's creed . . . it denies the possibility of objectively binding creedal statements in the first place.

The selection of Benedict as his papal name reflects the utterly critical need for moral and cultural renewal in Europe. Saint Benedict was, as Allen says, "the great founder of European monasticism," and, at his first General Audience, Benedict XVI made this observation: "He constitutes a fundamental point of reference for the unity of Europe, and a powerful call to the irrefutable Christian roots of European culture and civilization."

It has been a long time since the Throne of the Fisherman has been occupied by a theologian of the very first order. Benedict XVI certainly is one, and the story of his election and his vision for the Church is well told by Allen. Alas, he neglects any real discussion of Benedict XVI's substantial body of theology. A good place to begin an exploration of this work would be the small classic *On the Meaning of Christian Brotherhood*. Also indispensable are the very influential *Introduction to Christianity* and the declaration from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith entitled *Dominus Iesus* (*Jesus the Lord*). One will encounter in these works a breadth of knowledge, theological rigor, and doctrinal clarity and reliability that are astonishing. *Habemus Papam*, indeed.

Gregory J. Sullivan is a lawyer who resides in Pennsylvania.

Gifted Amateurs

by Clyde Wilson

Wade Hampton: Confederate Warrior, Conservative Statesman
by Walter Brian Cisco
Washington: Brassey's Inc.; 399 pp., $35.00

Retreat From Gettysburg: Lee, Logistics, and the Pennsylvania Campaign
by Kent Masterson Brown
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; 534 pp., $34.95

◆

Since they first appeared in the late 19th century, professional academic historians in the United States have been pretty much Establishment men (though, in other days, they did observe some canons of evidence and reasoned argument, and an occasional maverick appeared to remind that historical understanding should be an evolving debate and not a party line). Where we are now is signaled by the fact that academic historians a few years ago gave lavish praise and their *highest* award to a book purporting to prove that gun ownership was not widespread among early Americans—a proposition that was later shown to rest upon fabricated evidence.

Aside from Revelation, and perhaps biology, history provides our only clue to understanding the strange drama of the existence of our human race on this planet. Its usefulness lies in its attention to human experience. But, more and more, academic historians do not write about people, or even about groups of people. They write about categories of victims and oppressors—abstractions predefined by Cultural Marxism. Historianship is starting to resemble a bureaucratic exercise in spreading official ideology.

And so, in the future, we shall place increasing reliance on amateur historians, such as the authors of the books here reviewed. *Amateur* was once an honourable term, suggesting not lack of skill but gentlemanly excellence for its own sake rather than for money. Wade Hampton III had not had a biographer in half a century before Mr. Cisco, retired from business, undertook to write a new biography of him. Though his name is barely recognized today, Wade Hampton was once

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the best-known historical South Carolinian after Calhoun. Grandson of pioneers and Revolutionary soldiers, Hampton was a type that Americans today can hardly believe existed, much less understand.

One of the richest men in the South—with more than a thousand slaves on plantations spread over three states—he was capable of dispatching a bear single-handedly with a knife, and of writing cultured letters and speeches. Not an eager secessionist, when the die was cast, Hampton raised and equipped (at his own expense) a legion—horse, foot, and guns—for the defense of his people. Like his forebears, he was never a professional soldier but a willing and gifted amateur in time of need. Hampton fought most of the war in the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia, assuming its command on the death of "Jeb" Stuart. Near the end, he went south to see what could be done with Sherman's banditti. Wade Hampton III led from the front, was wounded several times, lost his son to a Yankee bullet, and performed great feats with dwindling resources against long odds. In February 1865, Sherman's men went out of their way to destroy his home outside of Columbia. Sherman put out the lie that Hampton, in retreating, had started the fires that destroyed the city. He hoped to damage Hampton's standing with his people. The trick did not work.

Hampton's greatest service, however, was after the war. He organized and led the resistance that redeemed his state from ten years of military rule. His election as governor in 1876 was crowned by the departure of the U.S. Army, with the carpetbaggers and their loot in train (although they left public debts that were not paid off until 1955). If you believe the prevailing Marxist notion that Reconstruction was a noble social revolution that simply did not go far enough (rather than an orgy of stealing and oppression as everyone used to believe), you will dwell on the electoral fraud and coercion by Hampton's men that brought it to an end. And you will never mention the fact that such action was simply a response to a regime that had never allowed an honest election during its decade of rule.

Retreat From Gettysburg is another "amateur" contribution, by a distinguished attorney, Kent Masterson Brown. Unlike most of the endless stream of books about the war, *Retreat From Gettysburg* tells us new things and gives us new ways of seeing familiar events. Lee's battered army moved from Gettysburg to the south bank of the Potomac in intense heat, heavy rains, and deep mud, with a 50-mile-long wagon train full of supplies and wounded, interspersed with vast herds of livestock and thousands of prisoners. Within ten days of the failure of Pickett's Charge, Lee had restored a balance of power and an army that would remain a deadly fighting force for almost two years more. It was a great military success, perhaps the greatest of the many brilliant exploits of Lee's army.

This understanding casts a new light on the great Union "victory" at Gettysburg. The Confederate army, though greatly outnumbered, moved freely in Northern territory until it met enemy forces by accident. For three days, the smaller force attacked the nearly immobile larger one defending its own land (with large reinforcements only a few days' march away). Barely failing of a decisive blow, the Army of Northern Virginia quit attacking and made the difficult journey home. The victorious army kept a safe distance and only feebly molested the retreat. Some victory.

American *amour propre* will never allow the admission, but, man for man, the Confederate soldier did more than his opponent. People invading and laying waste your country to destroy the liberty won by your fathers and grandfathers is a great motivator: far more so than enlistment bounties, the tariff, war contracts, and government loans, or even the "national greatness" to be established by a reconstructed "Union." Like earlier American armies, but unlike the U.S. Army then and later, the Confederate army was not a military machine but a large expedition of cousins and neighbors, advantaged in morale, adaptability, and teamwork.

The Confederate move into Pennsylvania has usually been attributed to strategic considerations. Brown's careful study highlights the role of logistical needs. Lee needed resupply, which could not be obtained in devastated Virginia nor in adequate quantity by the railroads to the further south. The Army of Northern Virginia went home from Pennsylvania with vast quantities of grains and vegetables, clothing and transport, equipment, and meat on the hoof. This vast haul was seized and receipted in accordance with the widely recognized rules of war. Unlike the Northern armies in the South from the first day of hostilities, the Confederates engaged in no systematic wanton destruction of private property and oppression of civilians. In this respect, the Prussians who invaded France a few years later compare favorably with the U.S. Army.

Another interesting discovery by Brown, which could only have been made by an historian who had not been socialized into the "profession": More than 5,000—and possibly as many as 10,000—black men, bond and free, accompanied the Southern army to Pennsylvania and back. (Ambrose Bierce wrote that, in four years of hard fighting in the Union western army, he never saw a black person except the conscripted servants and concubines of Northern officers.) Colonel Fremantle of the Coldstream Guards observed in Pennsylvania one of the black Confederates marching a Yankee prisoner to the rear. He wondered what the London abolitionists would make of that. When the Confederate survivors turned back from the attack on the third day, they returned to lines occupied entirely by black men. Many of those men performed signal services during the battle and the difficult retreat, including the protection and evacuation of wounded masters. This is really not hard to understand and accept if you remember that these men were people and not categories.

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LIBERAL ARTS

MORE TERROR FOR THE BIG EASY

"No single step would go further to dramatize the GOP's commitment to rebuilding New Orleans than announcing now that the party's 2008 convention will be held in the recovering city. Such a move would signal the party's confidence in the Big Easy's renewal, and put it at the forefront of what should be similar commitments from private actors to do their part to help New Orleans come back."

—*from an editorial on* National Review Online *(September 3)*

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Letter From Spain

by Christie Davies

Death in the Afternoon

◆

In the 16th century, Spain was the wonder of Europe, with her vast empire in Latin America and the Philippines and her wealthy possessions in the southern Netherlands and Italy. She came close to defeating and ruling England and Holland and, for a time, annexed Portugal with her colonial empire in Africa, Asia, and Brazil. Spain was a country united by a fierce Catholicism that had been developed over the centuries in which the Iberian peninsula had been reclaimed from its Muslim invaders and occupiers. The Spaniards were a proud people who made Spanish a world language and peopled the world with their descendants.

The following centuries were ones of political and economic decline. Occupation by Napoleon's savage and rapacious armies (so well portrayed by Goya), unilateral declarations of independence by the Latin American colonies, and humiliating defeat in the Spanish-American War destroyed Spanish power. A failure to achieve economic development and alleviate poverty led to the disastrous and destructive Spanish Civil War (1936-39). Anarchists destroyed churches and murdered priests, monks, and nuns. Communists took their orders from the Soviet Union. Hitler and Mussolini provided military support for General Franco, who was able to establish a brutal dictatorship. Even in the early 1930's, he had encouraged his Moorish troops to commit atrocities against strikers in the Asturias—a part of Spain proud to be the only province never to have been conquered and demeaned by the original Muslim invaders—and, in the Civil War, he used them again. Muslim Moroccan soldiers, whether under Spanish or under French command, were notorious for their mistreatment of innocent civilians not just here but in Italy (1943-45) and probably in Vietnam (1945-54). Franco's subsequent statist economic policies further retarded Spain's economic progress. Millions of Spaniards emigrated either to find work or to escape from a politically repressive society. Life was unpleasant for individuals under Franco, but there was no threat to the continuity of Spain or to Spain's national identity. After his death, Spain was able quietly to become a capitalist democratic monarchy not very dissimilar from the other Western European countries, and all seemed well.

The problems facing Spain today are quite different. Spain is approaching her demise not as a result of failure or poverty or oppression but from a loss of will. As the British have shown, a nation can survive the loss of an empire and reverse a long period of economic decline. As the United States has shown, it is possible to recover from a disastrous civil war. The current Spanish disease is different: It is a wasting and incurable malady, and the patient does not want to recover. The disease is self-induced and self-inflicted and will lead to a welcome death for a people who have ceased to believe in the value of their own distinctiveness, traditions, and survival. Spain is committing suicide.

The most striking warning comes from the collapse of the Spanish birthrate. Between 1960 and 1990, the Spanish birthrate halved, dropping from 21.7 to 10.2 births *per annum* per 1,000 women aged 15-45, and it is now below the European average. Part of the reason lies in the ease with which abortions may be obtained in this supposedly Catholic country; even French women travel to Spain to obtain cheap, no-questions-asked abortions. In 1976, a Spanish woman had, on average, 2.8 children. Today, she has 1.67. Women who have completed secondary school have only 1.37 children; college graduates, a mere 0.77. Spain is dying out, and her educated women are leading the way.

Other countries in similar circumstances, such as Sweden in the 1930's or France in the late 1940's, have adopted pro-natalist policies. Spain is content to rely on the replacement of her own people by Muslim immigrants to stave off an absolute fall in the size of the Spanish population. Spain could have sought and obtained unlimited numbers of immigrants from the Spanish-speaking world in Latin America to prop up her numbers and maintain her traditional identity in a new Atlanticist context. Indeed, many Spanish conservatives favored such a policy. Instead, she is passively allowing an influx of Muslims from Morocco or elsewhere in the Maghreb. They come in small boats or even swim (and often drown) across the narrow straits between Spain and Morocco. They pretend to be in transit to France or the Netherlands but disappear into the cities and countryside of Spain. The immigration service and the Guardia Civil try to stop them, but they are betrayed by socialist Spanish governments that prefer cowardly amnesties to expulsions. This is, in part, because of corruption. Moroccans provide cheap labor for the large farms in the south and for the building industry in Madrid. No doubt, these employers are prepared to pay off politicians and officials to permit this influx of labor to continue at the expense of the living standards of the Spanish working class. Resentment of this has led to clashes between Spaniards and Moroccans in small towns in Andalucia. It would be simpler and fairer for the Europeans to import even cheaper fruit and vegetables directly from the farms of Morocco herself or from the Arab world generally, but the agricultural protectionism of the European Union prevents this. Besides, Spanish landowners and contractors, who have never taken any interest in the welfare of less privileged social classes in Spain, are pleased with things as they are and happy to bribe Madrid.

Within a generation, a quarter of the children in Spain will be Muslims. Spain is rejoining the Arab world. They may well prove a difficult minority to assimilate, since their primary loyalty will be to the Islamic world. Their memory of their ancestors' success in invading and conquering the whole of Spain (except the Asturias in the far north) will not help matters. They will be the sea in which anonymous terrorists can swim. Spain has become the main entry point into Europe from the Muslim world and, thus, the ideal place for Islamic militants to gather and organize. The Al Qaeda bomb atrocities on four crowded Spanish trains came about in exactly this way.

What is happening in Spain is predictable in terms of the theories of the great medieval Arab sociologist Ibn Khaldun, who noticed how successive waves of hardy, fiercely puritanical Berbers and Arabs of the desert and the mountains, such as the Almoravids and Almohads, would periodically overcome and deprive of

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their land their laxer, settled, commercial neighbors who had grown soft, wealthy, and neglectful of religion. In time, they, too, would become "civilized" and be displaced. The Spaniards were once a hardy people of the mountains who reconquered their country from decadent Muslims who had grown to love luxury. Now, though, the cyclical changes described by Ibn Khaldun are entering their second phase. The newly rich and urban Spaniards have become soft and prefer the luxury of two-earner, one-child families to the stern requirements of maintaining their numbers and defending their country and identity.

The Spanish refusal to recognize the Muslim threat from within and properly to monitor and control their Muslim immigrants made the Al Qaeda attacks on Spain possible. Like many other countries, Spain seems to have swung rapidly from the ferocious xenophobia of her past to becoming a nation enfeebled by political correctness. Spanish Catholicism has lost its force. The Socialist government has halved the income traditionally flowing from the state to the Church (the state had, after all, been responsible for the loss of the land and property of the Church that could have sustained it without state funding) and begun the politically correct funding of the mosques of the infidel. There is a supine acceptance of decay and the violence of others in a country that now fears her own past. Spain's hysterical demands for the return of "colonial" Gibraltar—the people of Gibraltar themselves having voted overwhelmingly to stay British—are, ironically, both an extension of that same left-liberal ideology that prevents the proper curbing of immigration and a way of distracting public attention from Spain's failure to deal with the new Moors. Spain is a country on her way out. No wonder the Basques, Catalans, and even Galicians want independence from Castile and Madrid. Who wants to live in the same house as a corpse?

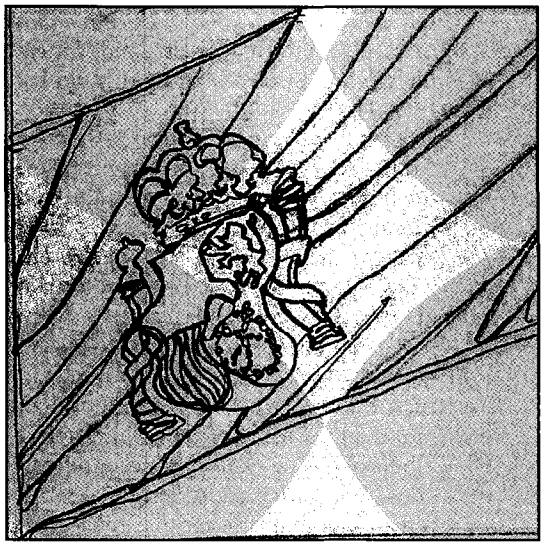
Why, too, should the Spaniards feel guilty about their expulsion of the Moors just over five centuries ago? When the Moors quit Spain, it was no different from the enforced departure of other settlers after the defeat of a colonial power, as happened to the French in Algeria or the Dutch in Indonesia. A million French settlers had to flee Algeria after independence. The Algerians feel no guilt about this; indeed, they probably gloat over it. Why should the Spaniards feel bad because the Arabs and Berbers who had invaded and taken over their country were forced out? Even after the medieval Muslim regimes had been defeated and the Moors slowly driven back across northern and central Spain, culminating in the fall of the Moorish kingdom of Grenada in 1492, those Muslims who remained were often disloyal to Spain. The Moriscos, Muslims who had nominally converted to Catholicism, continued to conspire with the Muslims of North Africa and those even further afield after the victories of the Christians, and revolts on their part, not mere Catholic bigotry, led to their expulsion.

The Reconquista (the reconquest of Spain from the Moors) was a brutal business, but, then, so are most wars of liberation, as we know from the expulsion of the French in the Napoleonic period and the Germans in World War II from the countries they had occupied. The fusion of religion and nationalism made the Spanish resistance to the invaders and subsequent advance especially obdurate and determined. The patron saint of Spain is Saint James, whose relics are the goal of pilgrims to Compostela, the city where the bells of the cathedral were stolen by the Moors and transferred to that monument to Islamic triumphalism, the mosque in Cordoba. He was known as Sant Iago Matamoros (Saint James the Killer of the Moors) and was believed to intervene directly and physically on behalf of the Christians in their crusade to free their country from the Muslim yoke. He is seen on his charger atop many a church steeple. Before charging into battle, Spanish armies would cry "*Santiago y España!*" ("For Saint James and Spain!").

Earlier this year, Spanish leftists wanted to take down his statue in Compostela, lest it cause offence to Muslims. Only the protests of the local tourist industry, which makes a fortune out of secularized but nostalgic pilgrims, prevented this. Yet why should we be any more severe in our judgment on (or the Spaniards more ashamed of) this fusion of religion and national polity than we would be of the Almoravids and Almohads, the successive waves of bigoted and puritanical Muslim sectarians who swept in from Morocco to seize power in Spain? Today, it is Muslims, not Christians, who seek to establish bigoted single-faith states. They need to learn from the past. The Spaniards do not.

In Spain, in the 21st century, the legacy of past bigotry is a fear, guilt, and paralysis that prevents the Spaniards from expelling illegal Moroccan immigrants. The Moors creep back like brambles. Nor have the Spanish authorities investigated and monitored Al Qaeda and other radical groups with sufficient thoroughness, on the basis of ethnic profiling. The final expression of Spanish feebleness was their voting the opposition Socialists into power in the election of 2004 after the agents of Al Qaeda had murdered 200 Spaniards by setting off bombs in railway trains. A proud people would have voted for assertion, defiance, and resistance after such atrocities. The Spanish voted for appeasement and surrender. It was fair enough to be against the Iraq war (supported by the previous Spanish government), but the speed at which the new Spanish leader Rodriguez Zapatero hurried to declare the withdrawal of Spanish forces was bound to be perceived as a disgraceful surrender to terrorism. If it was indeed a surrender on his part, well, that was what the fearful Spanish voters wanted and intended. The Spaniards hope that pulling out of Iraq will divert the terrorist attacks to Britain or Poland. The Islamic extremists knew in advance that they would behave in this way, and, well before the election, they were saying that the Spanish government could not withstand two blows—or three, at most—from them and that the victory of the Socialist Party would then be guaranteed.

There are two ways in which a nation can commit suicide. One is by failing to reproduce itself. The other is by refusing to defend itself. The Spaniards have chosen both. In doing so, they have proved themselves to be ultra-Europeans, for the Spanish disease is endemic in most of a secular, enfeebled Europe whose liberal



Elizabeth Wolf

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elites resent what they perceive as a determined, religious, belligerent United States for refusing to share in their "civilized" decline. Very low birthrates throughout Europe and an unwillingness by European countries to put enough resources into their own defense and security mean that Spain is merely the lead lemming.

Christie Davies holds a doctorate in Social and Political Sciences from the University of Cambridge. He has traveled extensively in Spain, in the Arab countries, and in Latin America. His most recent book is The Strange Death of Moral Britain *(Transaction, 2004).*

Letter From Charleston

by Jack Trotter

The Flamingo Kid

◆

It is a truism to note that H.L. Mencken, like his great vitriolic predecessor Jonathan Swift, was a thoroughgoing misanthrope. So perverse was Mencken's vision of human existence that he preferred to read *King Lear* as farce rather than as tragedy—since nothing, he was fond of saying, could be more farcical than death. But if Mencken's loathing for his fellow man prevented him from discovering some remnant of dignity in the antics of the intelligent ape, it made him one of our most acute observers of the American political scene. "Mirth," Mencken wrote in his "On Being an American," "is necessary to wisdom. . . . Well, here is the land of mirth, as Germany is the land of metaphysics and France is the land of fornication. Here the buffoonery never stops."

The "buffoonery" that so regaled Mencken was of the unconscious sort, the buffoonery of those, especially in political life, whose grotesquely inflated sense of their own self-importance provides the rest of us with endless mirth. (The honorable senator from Massachusetts is perhaps our most unadulterated contemporary American specimen of such buffoonery.) Yet Mencken's own satiric art was itself a kind of buffoonery, albeit of the wickedly honed and self-conscious variety, and one intended to remind us that, the moment we begin to take American politics *too* seriously, we join the parade of unconscious buffoons. Thus Mencken would approve, I suspect, of Rep. John Graham Altman III (R—Charleston District 119), a politician who, for several decades of public life in South Carolina, has supped with the scribes and Pharisees with tongue planted firmly in cheek.

Everyone in these parts remembers the "dress code" incident at the Statehouse in Columbia, when, during the 2001 legislative session, an overzealous clerk's office in the House forbade female pages to wear blouses exposing cleavage or skirts more than four inches above the knees. Shortly thereafter, a memo was released by a group calling itself the "Men's Caucus," instructing the pages to ignore the dress code. Instead, "they should save valuable materials used in blouse construction" and consider undergarments strictly "optional." They were further encouraged to regard "the terms 'babe,' 'honey,' 'sugar,' and 'little missy' as compliments and terms of endearment." Although authorship of the Men's Caucus memo remains a well-guarded secret, it is widely rumored that Representative Altman was one of the "handful of Republicans" responsible. Of course, virtually all the Democrats in the House waxed apoplectic over the incident, obliging state Attorney General Charlie Condon to call for a State Law Enforcement Division investigation of the matter. Well, that was a bit like using a pile driver to kill a fire ant. The not-so-surprising upshot was that, six months later, the General Assembly was compelled to hold a sexual-harassment seminar for its members. When asked whether he would be attending the seminar, Representative Altman was widely reported as saying, "I won't be able to come. I forgot to pack a dress."

Altman got his start in local politics back in 1976 when he was elected to the Charleston County School Board, subsequently serving in that capacity for 20 years. Then, as now, the progressive worthies on the board regarded him as their *bête noir*, and no doubt with good reason. Altman obstructed or attempted to obstruct every politically correct piece of nonsense proposed by the board during those years. After 20 frustrating years of bickering with the education bureaucrats, Altman stepped down. Later, he expressed some of that frustration: "There are more people in Charleston County that believe in the tooth fairy," he lamented, "than people who believe in the school board."

To his credit, however, Representative Altman has continued to work tirelessly for local control of schools, for real parental involvement in decisionmaking, and, most recently, for returning authority to teachers in the classroom. Ironically, these very efforts have drawn Altman into a running battle with the organization that, traditionally, might have been most supportive. When, earlier this year, Altman signed on as a backer of Gov. Mark Sanford's initiative "Put Parents In Charge," he was opposed by the hired muscle of the national PTA. In an editorial published in a number of papers across the state, Altman accurately depicted today's PTA as little more than a PAC: "What happened to the old PTA?" he wondered. "One year [when] I was on the school board, I joined 32 PTAs and went to a meeting every week. Now the PTA is just the political arm of whatever educrat blob there is out there." Needless to say, that didn't go over well with the PTA's local defenders. *Charleston City Paper* pundit Bill Davis responded in his usual patronizing fashion: "Poor John Graham Altman just can't seem to get his mind around the concept that the PTA has shrugged off its apron and put down its sheet of cookies to knot its neck scarf and pick up a briefcase." A briefcase, indeed. Those of us who live in Altman's district are just grateful that there are some ideas that poor John Graham just can't get his mind around.

Even his most persistent detractors admit that Representative Altman's traditionalist advocacy for state and local sovereignty is genuine. In April 2005, after the state Supreme Court struck down a Charleston County ordinance that would have placed caps on property-assessment increases for tax purposes, Altman introduced a constitutional amendment intended to allow counties to secede from the state—at least for the purpose of tax valuation. "Property tax is a monster that is devouring our Charleston community," Altman told the Charleston *Post and Courier*. "We pass bill after bill to try and get property tax relief. . . . I was thinking of how to get us around the constitution. So I decided to take us out of the constitution." While local progressives argue that the property-tax cap was intended to protect the rich, Altman, in fact, spoke for the overwhelmingly middle-class majority in his district, whose mortgages in one of the hottest real-estate markets in the country are backbreaking and whose tax

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payments are eating away at their children's college funds.

While the South Carolina chapter of the League of the South has consistently awarded Representative Altman its "Patriot" designation for his legislative performance, others—blacks, liberal women, and homosexuals—would be only too happy to see him hog-tied and castrated (that is, if their cuddly views of human nature allowed them to admit to such vengeful fantasies). Indeed, sometimes Representative Altman seems to relish baiting such victim groups with an almost Mephistophelian glee. In March 2000, he joined a number of State House Republicans in opposing a proposed Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday, a measure that would make South Carolina the last state in the nation to honor the civil-rights leader in this manner. Altman, at a crucial moment in the debate, took the floor and began to quote from a biography of Dr. King that, according to the *South Carolina News*, "alleged that the civil rights leader had extramarital affairs and plagiarized parts of his college papers." Altman's point was that, while it would be appropriate to celebrate a "Civil Rights Day," King himself was unworthy of such an honor. "You can run from the real Martin Luther King," he said, "but you can't hide from him!" Enter the chorus of breast-beating accusers, maligning Altman as one of those white-supremacist bigots of yesteryear who slandered the spotless civil-rights leader out of sheer hatred for his cause. No one, not even the "conservative" *Post and Courier*, bothered to name the "biography" in question or to report honestly that the "alleged" charges against King have long since been established beyond any reasonable doubt.

A few months later, during the Confederate Flag debate, Altman wrote a letter to Education Secretary Barbara Nielsen after she came out in support of removing the flag from the State House dome. "The kindest help I can offer you," he wrote to Nielsen, "... is to get you quickly qualified for the Federal Witness Protection Program." In response to claims that his letter could be considered a threat, Altman countered, "I'm not a threat to her. She's a threat to our children." When he learned that, to appease the NAACP, the Citadel had resolved to remove the battle flag from public view, Representative Altman managed to kill two lovebirds with one stone: "I never thought," he told the press, "that we'd find the Citadel Board of Visitors and the NAACP holding hands and whispering sweet nothings."

The *Post and Courier* once characterized Altman as a "quote machine," but it is not just the lash of his tongue that enrages the politically correct and the sanctimonious; it is also his taste in lawn décor. Next time you visit Charleston, take a drive down Folly Road toward the southern end of Altman's district, and you will see what I mean. Just across from the Earth Fare supermarket, our local whole-foods Mecca where various vegans, pagans, and companion animals gather to facilitate their evolution on Sunday mornings, you will find the Altman house, where John Graham resides with his lovely wife, Charm. I say "resides," but, in fact, the place—a sort of ramshackle minimansion with peeling columns and a fake balcony plastered above the front door, situated on one of the busiest intersections in Charleston—has a desultory air of desertion about it. The only evidence that the Altmans actually *live* there are the plastic pink flamingos on the lawn. From time to time, John Graham and Charm enjoy dressing up the flamingos in cute little costumes. Reportedly, the birds were on one occasion decked out in nuptial attire. But what really riled the Earth Fare crowd was the time the Altmans painted half the flamingos black and made pointy white hats for the other half. Or so it has been rumored; I didn't personally witness the affront. One local blogger claims to have it on good authority that the event did occur. "Apparently," he writes, "[the Altmans] feel that there is nothing more festive than a mock lynching." What is truly laughable is that anyone would take such buffoonery so seriously. The costumed flamingos are really just "good ole boy" political theater. Install those same bedizened flamingos in one of our *chichi* downtown galleries, and the local art mavens would praise them as bold and provocative postmodern agitprop.

Representative Altman was involved in another piece of political theater earlier this year that brought him briefly into the national limelight. The furor erupted in April after the House Judiciary Committee considered bills intended to make both cockfighting and domestic violence felonious offenses. The Judiciary Committee passed the "gamecock" bill and tabled the domestic-violence bill—both in the same week. Rep. Gilda Cobb-Hunter (D-Orangeburg), a sponsor of the latter bill, naturally seized upon the opportunity afforded by this spectacular case of bad timing: "What we have said by the actions of the Judiciary Committee is we aren't going to create a felony if you beat your wife, partner. But now, if you've got some cockfighting going on, whoa! Wait a minute." Within hours, it seemed, a Sherman's army of women's advocacy groups had descended upon Columbia to protest. When reporter Karen Gormley of Columbia's Channel 10 News and her camera crew cornered Altman (a Judiciary Committee member) in his State House office, Gormley confronted him with the invidious comparison between cockfighting and domestic violence suggested by Cobb-Hunter. Altman's reply and the subsequent "dialog" are savory enough to quote at length.

Altman: "People who compare the two are not very smart and if you don't understand the difference, Ms. Gormley, between trying to ban the savage practice of watching chickens trying to kill each other and protecting people's rights in [criminal domestic violence] statutes, I'll never be able to explain it to you in a hundred years, ma'am."

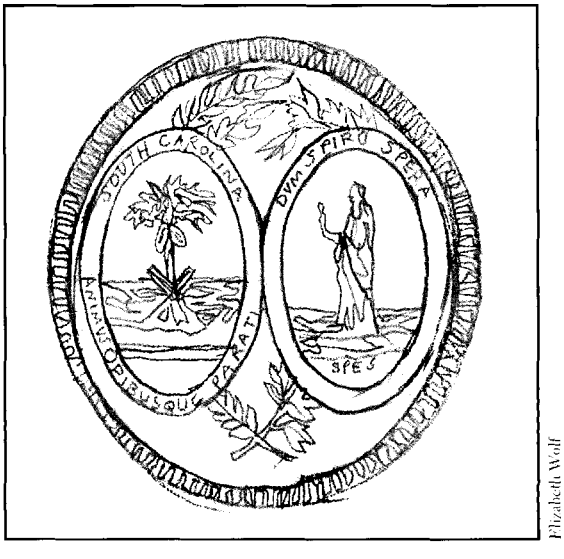
Gormley: "That's fine ... but my question to you is: Does it show that we are valuing a gamecock's life over a woman's life?"

Altman: "You're really not very bright and I realize you are not accustomed to this, but I'm accustomed to reporters having a better sense of the depth of things ..."

Gormley: "It's rude when you tell someone they [*sic*] are not very bright."

Altman: "You're not very bright, and you'll just have to live with that."

When Gormley pointed out that South Carolina's current domestic-violence law regards such violence as a misdemean-



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or even on the second offense, Altman replied, "There ought not to be a second offense. The woman ought not to be around the man. I mean you women want it one way and not another. Women want to punish the men, and I do not understand why women continue to go back around the men who abuse them."

Representative Altman's "insensitivity" toward the women who "go back around the men who beat them" was, by the following day, splashed all over the cable networks and the *New York Times*. The infallibly sensitive *Miami Herald* columnist William Pitts saw the incident as proof that "plucky little South Carolina" had "shot to the head of the pack" in the competition for "Most Backward State in the Union." Of course, given the state of the Union, that's a pretty flattering distinction.

There are perfectly sound reasons to question the need for special laws for domestic violence (or "hate crimes," or "gay rights"). Unfortunately, Representative Altman failed to articulate those reasons. In the first place, domestic-violence laws rarely take into account the growing frequency of cases in which the battered woman *initiates* the violent encounter with her spouse (or "partner"). Recently, even some feminists have begun to admit that "one size fits all" domestic-violence laws fail to consider the complexity of the relationships involved. Most ominously, many such laws require that, once an incident of domestic violence has been reported, an arrest *must* be made.

In any event, in the wake of the Gormley affair and the public outcry that followed, Representative Altman came within a hairsbreadth of censure by the House. To the disappointment of many, he appeared to capitulate under enormous pressure and delivered a public apology for his remarks. Whether that apology was altogether sincere is a different matter. To my ears, it sounded more like vintage Altman buffoonery. Speaking before a packed State House, he said, "I'm sorry I caused pain to those to whom I really caused pain, and I'm sorry I caused pain to anyone who might want to say 'ouch' anyway." Then he made curious reference to "some people I offended that I didn't offend . . . ," and lamented the "feeding frenzy" in the media that threatened his freedom of speech. "I don't mind dining out now and then," he added, "but I don't always like being the entrée. It's been roast pig for the last week."

Many in these parts believe that Altman's "apology" won't do him much good in 2006 when he runs for reelection. Whether Altman can do enough damage control in his own district to secure a sixth term is an open question. If he loses, the neocon Republican establishment (not to mention the Democrats) will be thrilled to be rid of a man they consider an embarrassing reminder of the bad old days when a man who battered his wife was too busy hiding from her kinfolk to worry about the law. But a victory for Altman's opponent (more than likely Charlie Smith, homosexual activist and real-estate entrepreneur, who has run against Altman twice) would be a great loss for Charleston. Representative Altman has served her interests loyally and wittily. Some would disagree about the wit, of course, but judge for yourselves. Shortly after the Massachusetts Supreme Court legalized "gay marriage," Altman was the man who coined the phrase "black robe disease" to describe the contagion afflicting judges who compulsively legislate from the bench—and that is surely a nomenclature worthy of adoption by the Centers for Disease Control over in Atlanta.

Jack Trotter writes from Charleston, South Carolina.

Black Sea Sketches

BLACK SEA SKETCHES is a travel book written for serious travelers, including armchair travelers. Although the author may take an occasional swim or walk the beaches, the book is much more about the history and prehistory, the culture and the contemporary scene than about recreational opportunities. It is the kind of book you would want to read before or during your own travel in these fascinating countries.

The five countries—Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Georgia—often share military and economic history, but cultural contrasts abound: different alphabets and languages, different religions. While most of Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Georgia embrace the Orthodox faith, Turkey is largely Muslim, as is part of the Crimean population. All five of the countries reflect, especially architecturally, the common past of ancient Greece and, most of them, of the later Genoan commercial empire.

Rising above the glittering monuments of the past, however, are the people Mills met and the stories of their lives, often of great courage under pressure and of generosity to a stranger and a traveler.

Comments about other works of William Mills

"William Mills' stories draw the reader deeply into the hearts and minds of men and women to reveal the essential nature of Man in a world governed by forces so primal there is no resisting their call, no mitigation of their judgment."

—Gordon Weaver

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—James Dickey

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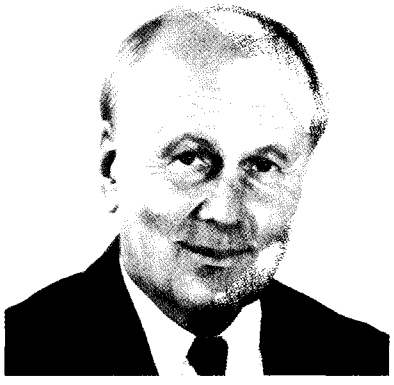
by David A. Hartman

Dubious Dubya Budgets



As the federal Fiscal Year 2005 approaches completion and the 2006 budget takes shape, the lack of fiscal discipline of the George W. Bush presidency continues to enlarge upon the "politics of joy," which have characterized the Republican Party since the end of World War II. No longer aspiring to be the party of frugality and responsibility that "takes away the punch bowl" from the Democrats, the Republicans have become big welfare spenders whose largesse is financed by big deficits that are doubled by unaffordable tax cuts supported by the Fed's excessive creation of money.

The change of roles of the parties has not been confined to the domestic scene, as the Republicans have become the borderless internationalists who welcome hordes of illegal immigrants, promote foreign trade without reciprocity, and engage in ill-advised military interventions at the behest of multinational corporations and neoconservatives attempting to build the New World Order. The national interest has no place on their political agenda, and the party no longer has room for conservatives or nationalists. This agenda should not come as a surprise to anyone who has taken the trouble to follow the evolution of the Republican Party since William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt. As "Progressives," they launched the shift from continental to international imperialism and big central (socialist) government financed by limitless income taxation. The Republican veneer of conservatism has long been the sham necessary to dupe the majority of their gullible supporters.

It follows, then, that the 2006 federal budget will be the first to reach $2.5 trillion, paced by Bush's record share of GDP spent on social welfare and financed by excessive boom-time money creation. The only real attempt at frugality that can be seen in this budget is its failure to fund the Iraq and Afghanistan wars with sufficient manpower and material to win the peace, which suggests that Bush and his hawks may be as dubious about the possibility of achieving peace in these regions as the public is.

The massive scale of government in the United States is only partially revealed by federal spending. The one fifth of GDP currently spent at the federal level is joined by an additional tenth taxed at state and local levels, raising total spending on government to three tenths of GDP. Since 15 percent of federal outlays is spent on grants to the states, state and local spending on government amounts to nearly half of total U.S. government spending. The increasing encroachment of state and local government on personal and property rights is a natural consequence, in addition to the benevolent interventions of our federal "Big Brother."

At the beginning of the 20th century, it took less than one tenth of U.S. economic output to pay for all levels of government—federal, state, and local. Historically, only the early Athenian democracy and the Roman republic—both of which were governments based on property-holding citizen-soldiers—enjoyed such limited government. The Greeks, Romans, and Americans went from citizens to subjects as ownership of property and the powers of government were consolidated and centralized, resulting in freemen being driven to the city for welfare or conscription as soldiers and workers, or remaining on the land as tenants. The government and the propertied elite progressively captured the bulk of the economic surplus.

What prospects lie ahead for Americans who are being increasingly consumed by the appetites of their own government? No one disagrees with the forecasts anticipating the doubling of the scale of welfare spending on Social Security and Medicare to care for the aged, in addition to the expansion of Medicaid, welfare entitlements, and tax credits to support a growing underclass. Government will enlarge to meet these needs, and so will the burden on the shrinking proportion of the productive who are forced to support the increasing proportion of the unproductive.

The federal budgets offered thus far by George W. Bush only exacerbate the problems Americans face. The current welfare system encourages dependency instead of personal and family responsibility. But the possibility of reforms such as those proposed for Social Security have sizable transition costs that would add to the huge federal deficits caused by excessive spending and unwarranted taxes that serve no useful purpose. In effect, fiscal improvidence stands in the way of serious tax reform and Social Security reform. Worse still, the relentless increase in the share of the economy that is being spent on the welfare state *replaces* the family, by contributing to the decline in marriage rates and birthrates (particularly legitimate births) and separates the aged from the family and from participation in the rearing of children, which reduces the ratio of workers to dependents.

These social and cultural phenomena are the degenerative effects of the uncontrolled welfare state, which we are witnessing throughout the developed world. The two trillion dollars of deficits over the coming decade will be President Bush's contribution to the current national debt, as will the tens of trillions of dollars of unfunding liabilities of Social Security and medical care for the aged and the improvident. As a career politician, George W. Bush has been driven by a burning desire to be loved by the American public. But the financial mess that will be his legacy will hardly be lovable. The longer we imbibe at the party, the worse will be the morning after. c

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by Srdja Trifkovic

Intrigue in the Balkans

Having devoted a major part of my working life over the past four years to researching and writing about terrorism, I am alert to the possibility that there are a few people around me who would like to shut me up—for good, if at all possible. The tragic end of Theo van Gogh, slaughtered in the best jihadist tradition in Amsterdam last fall, indicates the reality of that threat and the need for preparedness: There but for the grace of God go I! As I was leaving for the Balkans on July 1, however, I was ill prepared for the possibility that someone in the land of my birth would accuse me of being a would-be terrorist, of plotting assassinations of high officials and issuing mortal threats.

When Amb. James Bissett, Prof. Ronald Hatchett, and I accepted an invitation to give public lectures in Montenegro in early July as guests of the Movement for the Common State of Serbia and Montenegro, we knew that what we had to say would not be welcomed by the separatist government of Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic. Knowing that passions are running high in this deeply divided land, we were careful to make sure that what we said was reasonable and true.

Arriving in the wake of countless foreign "experts" who had supported the cause of Montenegrin separatism, we believed it both proper and necessary to present an alternative perspective. In four hectic days, we and our colleagues from Greece and Russia presented a total of seven panels in Podgorica (twice), Niksic, Budva, Bar, Kotor, and Herceg Novi.

Ambassador Bissett's focus was on the Canadian legislation for any future referendum on the independence of Quebec. In a normal debate, his detailed account of Canada's Clarity Act would have been welcomed by all parties as a valuable contribution to the issue of who should have the right to vote in a referendum, what exact question should be asked, and what constitutes a "clear majority."

Professor Hatchett's parallel between various dangers facing an independent Montenegro and the sobering experience of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the first decade of her independence was based on an informed and insightful analysis of the dynamics that are at work in both places. In particular, Dr. Hatchett pointed out that the threat of greater Albanian chauvinism—which has already turned one third of Macedonia into an area effectively ungovernable from Skopje—would not spare Montenegro. If the state of Texas, with her 24 million people, a powerful economy, and the legal right to secede, realized the peril of independent statehood in an uncertain world (Dr. Hatchett concluded), it would be advisable for tiny Montenegro, with her 650,000 people earning $200 per month on average, to think twice before separating.

My own presentation was focused on the experience of two small but culturally and historically important European nations that inhabit clearly defined countries but do not enjoy sovereign statehood. Neither Catalonia nor Scotland is deprived of any element of meaningful nationhood by virtue of being in a common state with other nations that share similar geopolitical and economic interests. The dynamics of their social, economic, and political development are not impeded from Madrid or London, which is proved by the failure of separatists to capture a significant segment of the vote in either country. I was also careful to point out that the intention of the Montenegrin government to exclude its citizens resident in Serbia—one third of the electorate!—from the referendum was unacceptable under international democratic standards, most recently exemplified by the participation of French and Dutch citizens resident abroad in the referendum on the E.U. constitution last May.

The reaction of the overwhelmingly government-controlled media in Podgorica to our efforts was depressingly predictable. To give you some flavor of the place, on only one day (July 6) the leading pro-government daily *Vijesti* compared us to a bunch of *Mein Kampf*-reading thugs in a Munich beer hall in the early 1930's; *Pobjeda* accused us of performing for a small fistful of dollars; while Prime Minister Djukanovic himself stated that he did not mind our visit because, in his view, our musings would only strengthen the cause of independence.

Someone did mind, however. One day after our departure from Podgorica, a pro-Djukanovic weekly, *Nedjeljni zurnal*, published a banner front-page headline "Prime Minister Threatened From Chicago," followed by a two-page feature focusing on a forged letter in which I was supposed to have threatened to kill Milo Djukanovic's children and then the leader himself. This was an obvious attempt to shut me up. The story was untrue, of course, but the "letter" was there, in black and white, accompanied by a recent photograph of me. As Tom Fleming commented in his *Hard Right!* column on our website a few days later,

> It seems incredible, but let us remember who Milo Djukanovic is: a notoriously corrupt Montenegrin political leader, who has been denounced by Italian officials for his active role in a massive tobacco smuggling ring. When at least one of his alleged business partners was willing to talk, he was gunned down. More recently, Montenegro has become a safe haven for Russian mafiosi and international hoodlums of every description. At the same time, Djukanovic has been orchestrating a Montenegrin separatist movement that would, by making him head of an independent state, give him virtual immunity from prosecution . . . If Djukanovic were a serious dictator, like Stalin, he might have hired a competent American or European forger to produce his document. Instead, he relied on local talent. They did not bother to get Rockford Institute or *Chronicles* letterhead, but manufactured one for Srdja Trifkovic, Politologicus, Chicago plus a zip code—

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they could not even find out his address.

Contrary to the advice of Dr. Fleming and many other friends and associates, I immediately decided to go back to Podgorica, the capital of Djukanovic's fiefdom, to hold a press conference and challenge the authorities either to arrest me or to admit that the allegations were false. I sent a letter to Djukanovic, inviting him to denounce the allegations, especially since the article claimed that his cabinet was the source of the forged letter.

In view of another paranoid article that appeared in the far more influential, semi-official *Pobjeda* daily on Saturday, July 9, claiming that a detailed plan to instigate violence in Montenegro is being masterminded from Chicago, it became obvious that the accusations against me were not an isolated incident: They reflected a sustained campaign. I was encouraged by the public outcry on both sides of the Atlantic: Under the circumstances, publicity was my best insurance policy. Milo's henchmen were making a mistake by believing that I would be intimidated into staying away from their turf. The manner in which they reacted reflected their nervousness, even panic. I knew that the slanderers did not expect me to turn up and would be caught flat-footed. I also knew that nothing short of my turning up in Podgorica and throwing down the gauntlet would get sufficient media coverage to shut them up, once and for all.

The invitation to the press conference was circulated by the Movement for the Common State between 1 and 2 P.M. on Monday. Between 3 and 4 P.M., while completing some letters at the Bishop's office in Trebinje (Herzegovina), I received a call on my cell phone (ID withheld, of course) with a short but clear message: "Trifkovic, you may come to Montenegro, but you won't get out of it!" They were getting either desperate or desperately serious, but this call merely caused a surge of *inat* that made my decision to go irreversible.

The trip went without a hitch. At the border, I was met by a couple of friends from Podgorica who drove ahead. Just before Niksic, we had to stop as a herd of sheep crossed the road. They called me on my cell: "That's a DPS [Djukanovic's ruling party] youth wing trying to sabotage our trip," they commented.

At 10 A.M., before a room packed with the entire press corps of Podgorica, I read the following statement:

> I am addressing you today to refute scandalous allegations which we all know to be untrue. By printing what it has printed, the *Weekly Journal* (*Nedjeljni zurnal*) has earned for itself the distinction of being the most noxious publication in today's Europe. There is nothing comparable to it; for similarities we'd need to look several decades back, to the *Voelkische Beobachter* or *Zeri i Populit*. Perhaps there is a paper equally bad to be found in Pyongyang, or Khartoum, or Riyadh, I don't know.
>
> I am especially concerned that the *Nedjeljni zurnal* and the *Pobjeda* daily have had the audacity to accuse my homeland, America, of harboring would-be assassins and terrorists. If such plans to murder the prime minister of Montenegro emanate from Chicago, as the *Nedjeljni zurnal* alleges, if an elaborate conspiracy to cause destabilization and instigate violence in Montenegro are being hatched there, as *Pobjeda* claims, and the FBI and other services tolerate such behavior and fail to arrest the culprits, this is a serious accusation against the authorities of the United States, an accusation that must be supported by evidence or else admitted to be fabricated.
>
> By slandering America, by accusing it of tolerating terrorism, those two publications have tried to bite off more than they can chew. I sincerely pity those journalists who, to keep body and soul together, have to work for them. They deserve better, as does the Montenegrin public, which is in dire need of media decontamination. I hope that the legal proceedings, which I am instigating against the *Nedjeljni zurnal*, will provide at least a modest contribution to this long overdue decontamination.

This last part was somewhat tongue-in-cheek, of course, but the effect was wonderful. I also read my letter to Prime Minister Djukanovic of July 11, inviting him to deny that the information on my alleged threat against him came from his cabinet. I pointed out to him that he would be tainted with the same brush as the *Nedjeljni zurnal* if he did not do so.

Reports of my press conference, including extensive video clips of the statement, were carried by all three main TV channels in Montenegro in their evening-news broadcasts on Tuesday—even by the state-run TVCG1, which had viciously attacked me, Ron Hatchett, and Joe Bissett only a week earlier. The dailies reported the statement prominently on Wednesday—with the notable exception of the rabidly separatist *Vijesti*, partly financed by George Soros's Open Society network. Even *Pobjeda* did so without any attempt to soften the blow through editorial creativity.

After the press conference, I went to the Security Center of Podgorica to report the threat I received on Monday. The last item of the day was to sign power of attorney over to Milorad Ivanovic, Podgorica's foremost lawyer and former chief legal counsel of the Yugoslav federal government. He will sue the *Nedjeljni zurnal* for slander, defamation, and all the rest of what the Montenegrin penal code provides for in these circumstances. I have a good mind to take them to the cleaners or close them for good. He will also sue the state of Montenegro because its Agency for National Security had leaked the file on my alleged threat to Djukanovic to the media instead of forwarding it to the state prosecutor or to the police, the only two authorized recipients of such material.

Djukanovic's Montenegro is not fit to be accepted into "Europe" or any other institution that claims to uphold democracy and human rights. I would still welcome a frank but respectful debate with the proponents of Montenegrin separatism. So far, I have not encountered any willing interlocutors. Perhaps they do exist, but for as long as they allow the upholders of thuggery and muggery to dominate the public discourse, their cause will remain tainted by lies and criminality.

After a tense but fruitful day in Podgorica, I returned to Trebinje just in time for the SS. Peter & Paul evening liturgy at a cave church in the hills above this lovely Herzegovinian city. A six-mile hike there and back, crowned by a spectacular sunset, was followed by a dinner with Bishops Grigorije and Atanasije at the nearby monastery. The evening was fresh, after a hot, dry day. The air was fragrant with lavender and rosemary. The wine was deep ruby red; the food, simple but hearty; life was good. The first good night's sleep in days was ahead of me. c

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TERRORISM

Grasping the Inexplicable

by James George Jatras

The U.S. government has a new official program called "Orthodox Christian World Outreach." Tens of millions of dollars will be spent to counter distrustful perceptions of the United States in Orthodox countries such as Serbia, Greece, and Russia—perceptions resulting, in part, from our policies with respect to Bosnia and Kosovo. Under this new program, American tax dollars will support Orthodox Christian broadcasting, church schools, Orthodox think tanks, and restoration of churches and monasteries in Kosovo and Cyprus and of ancient icons and manuscripts in Orthodox monasteries. Perhaps the most positive aspect is that, for the first time, the United States will ally herself politically with national movements and parties that seek to bring an Orthodox Christian moral and spiritual agenda to their societies. This is a most welcome and unexpected development.

Alas, there is no such effort as "Orthodox Christian World Outreach." Everything in the above paragraph is not true. Instead, Washington actually has launched this same program with respect to the Islamic world. According to *U.S. News & World Report*,

> In at least two dozen countries, Washington has quietly funded Islamic radio and TV shows, coursework in Muslim schools, Muslim think tanks, political workshops, or other programs that promote [so-called] moderate Islam. Federal aid is going to restore mosques, save ancient Korans, even build Islamic schools. . . . Another strategy being pursued is to make peace with radical Muslim figures who [supposedly] eschew violence. At the top of the list: the Muslim Brotherhood, the pre-eminent Islamist society, founded in 1928 and now with tens of thousands of followers worldwide. . . . Indeed, sources say U.S. intelligence officers have been meeting not only with the Muslim Brotherhood but also with members of the Deobandi sect in Pakistan, whose fundamentalism schooled the Taliban and inspired an army of al Qaeda followers.

Particular attention is being focused on various groups based on Sufism (defined as "tolerant," notwithstanding plentiful evidence to the contrary), exemplified by the tolerant, pluralistic Ottoman empire, about which no more needs to be said.

If Washington's policy of subsidizing "*sharia* with a human face" seems vaguely familiar, it should. It was consciously modeled on America's Cold War policy of promoting social democracy as an antidote to communism. Even decades later, Washington's leading lights have been unable to see what was painfully obvious then: that sponsoring socialism only advanced the moral case for collectivism, materialism, and the growth of state power over society, accompanied by de-Christianization—a devolution that influences our thinking today.

We cannot presume that the result of "Muslim World Outreach" will be a stumbling into victory, *à la* the Cold War. Whereas, then, the noncommunist world did not support communist states and movements as a consistent policy—though they did so on occasion—American support for radical Islam is a long-standing pattern. Muslim World Outreach is the logical conclusion of policies dating, at least, back to the Afghan war of a quarter-century ago. This orientation can be summarized as follows: In local conflicts, promote Islamic interests; ally ourselves with *jihad* as long as it is directed against someone else. The underlying logic is this: If we—the United States, the West—support Islamic interests, the result will be a moderate Islam that will, perhaps, threaten others but not us; if we do not, those interests will be championed by "extremists" (or at least by extremists we have not co-opted and redefined as "moderates").

One would have thought this pattern would have been reconsidered after September 11. Instead, it has been reinforced and expanded. Even the official September 11 Commission said that

> The United States defended, and still defends, Muslims against tyrants and criminals in Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. If the United States does not act aggressively to define itself in the Islamic world, the extremists will gladly do the job for us.

Evidently, the commission missed the obvious absurdity of the notion that, as of 2004, we are "still defending" Muslims in Bosnia or Kosovo. (Against whom? A Republika Srpska that is being systematically dismantled by Paddy Ashdown? Against terrified, isolated Serb enclaves in Kosovo?) Equally ignored is that our interventions have brought us no praise in the Islamic world but have simply augmented the list of Muslim grievances: Chechnya, Kashmir, Palestine, the Philippines, Iraq, *etc.*

While the explicit link between U.S. policy and appeasing Muslim sensibilities was first applied to the Balkans under President George H.W. Bush, the American dance with *jihad* vastly expanded under President Clinton. Regarding radical Islamic influence in Bosnia, Clinton's April 1994 "green light" for covert shipments of Iranian weapons through Croatia to the Muslim regime of the late Alija Izetbegovic is old news. Less well known is the contemporaneous presence in Bosnia of a *second* aid network—working parallel to the Iranians and, to some extent, in competition with them—that also brought in arms, funds, and *mujahideen* from around the world. Loosely patterned on—and, to some degree, an outgrowth of—the effort begun to assist Afghan resistance to the Soviet occupation in the 1980's, this parallel network in Bosnia was largely funded from Saudi Arabia through an intricate web of untraceable sources and was administered through a number of phony "charities." In short, this parallel network was what we now refer to as Al Qaeda.

While there are numerous references to Bosnia and even to Kosovo in the official September 11 Commission report, these have led neither to wide public comment nor to official inquiry into the extent to which the *jihad* terror that struck America in 2001 was empowered

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to do so because of mistakes made a decade ago in the Balkans.

While what became Al Qaeda was hatched in the 1980's in the Afghan-Pakistan border region, it was mostly in the context of the Balkan conflicts of the 1990's that (according to the commission report) the "groundwork for a true global terrorist network was being laid"—a network capable of striking the United States. Amazingly, this is the same report that recommends *more* pro-Islamic interventions along the lines of our policies in Bosnia and Kosovo.

What to many may seem simply a nonsensical orientation needs to be understood in a larger context. The overall tendency in American global policy, going back to the end of the Cold War, can be summed up in one word: *hegemony*. This means not only hegemony in Europe through NATO—which had specific application in the Balkan interventions—but in what is called the Broader Middle East, which includes the Caucasus and Central Asia and of which the Balkans is seen to be as much a part as it is of Europe. In its wider application, it means that the opinion of any other power, or any possible combination of powers, may not outweigh that of the United States on any point of the globe.

An important corollary of the foregoing is the effort to undermine the status of certain regional powers, notably Russia. This includes the current effort to dominate Russia's Near Abroad, an effort that has accelerated with the successful "Orange Revolution" in Ukraine and parallel advances elsewhere (Moldova, Kyrgyzia, and, perhaps next, Belarus and Kazakhstan, and likely Russia herself in 2008). Especially with the growing American rapprochement with our European allies—for which support for "democracy" in such places as the Ukraine has served as a catalyst—Russia's strategic isolation is deepening. With respect to diminution of Moscow's status as a power, it is significant that the *Washington Post* editorialized that "[n]either Serbia *nor Russia* . . . should be allowed to stand in the way of resolving Kosovo's future"—that is, independence.

Consider Serbia's situation with respect to the elements of the policy I have outlined. First, she is part of the Broader Middle East, a particular focus for hegemonic control, where assuaging Muslim sentiments is a major imperative. Second, she is in Europe, where again, hegemonic control *via* NATO is imperative. Add another element, great-power chauvinism: Like the NKVD, we never make mistakes. No American policy mistakes of the past—by either party—can ever be reexamined, because this would compromise our infallibility.

This largely explains why the expected reappraisal of Bill Clinton's flawed Balkan policy never occurred in the George W. Bush administration. (Particularly puzzling to some was that an administration in which self-identified Christian conservatives figure so prominently would continue the decidedly anti-Christian policies of its predecessor.) Besides an imperious inability to admit error, two other factors should be noted: first, the continuing influence of the permanent foreign-policy bureaucracy, centered at the State Department, including many officials who held responsible jobs under Clinton and were retained under Bush; second, the dominance of the neoconservatives, for whom global hegemony was, and remains, an article of faith. Regarding the latter, even when Republicans in the House of Representatives voted against the Kosovo war by a margin of more than nine to one and, in fact, defeated the resolution of authorization, important figures now staffing the Bush administration faulted Clinton only in that his policy was not aggressive enough.

We will soon see a push for settling the "final status" of Kosovo. I will not review the details of the background noise—the Contact Group, Richard Holbrooke's recent essay in the *Washington Post*, the January 2005 International Crisis Group report, the hair-splitting over whether "standards" come before "status" (or *vice versa*) or whether the progression is from occupation to "independence without full sovereignty" or "guided sovereignty" or "shared sovereignty" with the European Union. There is no doubt that the United States, together with the European Union, will soon solemnly conclude that Kosovo's "progress" toward "standards" is sufficient to "move forward."

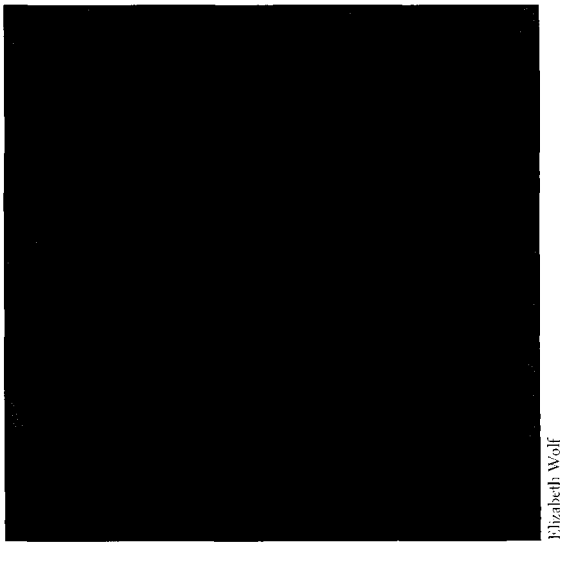
Predictably, Serbs will torture themselves over how to engage, as they have with other issues such as The Hague. "Do we participate in status talks? Do we boycott them? What should local Serbs do? How will cooperation benefit Serbia? How will resistance hurt us?"

The answers Serbs give to immediate questions concerning Kosovo, The Hague, *etc.*, are less important for the short-term costs and benefits than they are for preserving any part of the Serbian national patrimony, encouraging national unity—spiritual and moral accord even more than political harmony. Serbs must decide what they would want for Serbia if the United States and the European Union did not exist, and only *then* decide how to engage them.

At the same time, Serbs should not think that the situation is hopeless or that nothing useful can be done. Even in the current climate, it is possible for incremental but significant gains to be made, as is occurring in the commercial sector.

More broadly speaking, whether Washington's agenda is sustainable over the long term—geopolitically, militarily, economically—is still unknown. Also, there are many in the United States, distributed across the political spectrum, who are skeptical that the prevailing program of global hegemony is in the American national interest; rather than bringing us "national greatness," it will lead us to ruin. While those who hold this view do not dominate U.S. foreign policy, neither are they entirely inconsequential. There is reason to think that even some who support hegemony as a global concept are receptive to the idea that our current orientation in the Balkans is counterproductive to their broader goals.

James George Jatras, an attorney in Washington, D.C., was formerly a policy analyst with the Republican leadership of the U.S. Senate. A version of this article was delivered as a speech at a conference on terrorism held in Belgrade in May and cosponsored by The Rockford Institute's Center for International Affairs.



Elizabeth Wolf

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IMMIGRATION

Losing the "War on Terror" at the Border

by Wayne Allensworth

According to a host of news reports, the porous, virtually unprotected southern border of the United States has attracted the attention of Islamic terrorists, as many of us warned it would at the outset of the "War on Terror." In March, *Time*, citing U.S. intelligence officials, reported that Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi, a ring leader of attacks on U.S. personnel in Iraq, was considering hitting "soft targets" in the United States, including movie theaters, restaurants, and schools. According to the *Time* report, Zarqawi has reportedly been in contact with Osama bin Laden, and the Al Qaeda leader has urged him to plan such attacks. A bulletin circulating in security circles at the time stated that Zarqawi believes that, "if an individual has enough money, he can bribe his way into the US." Zarqawi sees the path opened by obtaining a visa to Honduras, then passing through Mexico and crossing the U.S. border.

The Zarqawi reports came at a time when even our seemingly uninterested—in enforcing immigration laws, that is—government was acknowledging that illegal immigration is surging, especially along the southern border, with somewhere in the neighborhood of 10-11 million illegal aliens on U.S. soil. (That is one of the lower estimates.) "The numbers are astounding," said Cathy Travis, a spokesman for Rep. Solomon Ortiz, a Texas congressman who has pressed for greater funding for border security and immigration control. "Until we match our budgetary priorities with our national-security priorities, this is going to be the case."

Last March, FBI director Robert Mueller told Congress that around 700 of those arrested for illegally crossing the southern border in 2004 were from countries the State Department has designated as sources of terrorism. This is quite apart from those who may have obtained visas, then overstayed them. The illegals Mueller referred to in his congressional testimony are called "Special Interest Aliens" by U.S. officialdom.

In June, immigration officials told a Senate panel that Border Patrol agents had arrested nearly 100,000 non-Mexicans illegally crossing our southern border in the previous eight months. These came from Brazil, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador—but also from Afghanistan, Yemen, Pakistan, and Iran. The vast majority were released on their own recognizance, awaiting a deportation hearing. Few show up under what has been dubbed the "catch and release" program, which makes a mockery of border security, undermines the morale of Border Patrol agents, and leaves this country vulnerable to another catastrophic terrorist attack on the scale of September 11, 2001.

Reports of the steadily growing number of "Special Interest Aliens" among the non-Mexicans apprehended at the southern border jumped dramatically last year. Increasingly, those who intend to enter the United States illegally first go to Mexico, then cross the border on foot. "I absolutely believe that the next [terrorist] attack we have will come from somebody who has come across the border illegally," said Eugene Davis, a retired Border Patrol sector chief. Davis told the Associated Press in July that "we have no more border security now than we had prior to September 11. Anybody who believes we're safer, they're [*sic*] living in Neverland." In the Texas Rio Grande Valley, over 90 percent of the non-Mexicans apprehended by the Border Patrol are freed because of a lack of holding space in border-detention centers.

Earlier this year, T.J. Bonner, president of the union representing Border Patrol agents, complained about the Bush administration's lack of seriousness in defending our borders: "There's been a greater amount of lip service, but there hasn't been a greater amount of attention to border security," said Bonner. "It's a shell game, and the American public is the loser in this game." The union has sharply criticized the administration's 2006 budget, which would provide for hiring a mere 210 new Border Patrol agents. The intelligence-reorganization bill President Bush signed just last year called for hiring 10,000 more agents over five years. According to Bonner, there are fewer than 11,000 agents to patrol more than 6,000 miles of the country's perimeter around the clock.

By contrast, the United States has stationed around 150,000 troops in Iraq. And the same administration that has told us countless times that securing our own borders is impossible is taking steps to do just that in Iraq, tightening border security along that country's borders with Syria and pledging to Saudi Arabia to keep those borders secure to prevent jihadists from passing through to the oil-rich desert kingdom.

In the United States, the Minuteman Project has shown how a presence on the border can sharply curb illegal immigration (by half or more in some areas patrolled by volunteers, according to media accounts). Last April, U.S. media reported that the Mexican police and army were even directing illegal-alien traffic away from areas in the Tucson border sector patrolled by the Minutemen volunteers, finding other crossing routes for them. (Will the White House make this provocative action an object of discussion with President Fox at some future meeting on border security?)

If the White House can send 150,000 troops to Iraq, then America can defend her borders.

As the Minuteman volunteers have demonstrated, Americans are ready and willing to move decisively to defend our own homes and neighborhoods. As of this writing (in July), a New England Minuteman Association has been formed, with plans to replicate the Arizona Minuteman patrols along the Canadian border. In Houston, a Texas Minuteman project plans to patrol the streets of the city (there are reportedly as many as 400,000 illegal aliens in Houston) as part of a campaign that will extend north from the Mexican border beginning in October. The Minuteman project is active in California and other states suffering from the tidal wave of illegal immigration.

How has Washington responded to the example of the patriotic volunteers of the Minuteman Project? According to the *Washington Times*, last May, Border Patrol agents were ordered not to arrest illegal aliens in the sector patrolled by the Minuteman volunteers "because an increase in apprehensions there would prove the effectiveness of Minuteman volunteers." "It was clear to everyone here what was being said and why," said one anonymous agent. "The apprehensions were not to increase after the Minuteman volunteers left. It was as simple as that." Another agent said his supervisors "were clear in their intention" to keep arrests to an "absolute minimum" to offset the effect of the Minuteman

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patrols. Border Patrol officials have denied this, but Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-CO), chairman of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus, said he had "credible sources" within the Border Patrol who had confirmed the anonymous agents' charges. According to the *Washington Times*' Jerry Seper, "Mr. Tancredo . . . blamed the Bush administration for setting an immigration enforcement tone that suggests to those enforcing the law that he is not serious about secure borders."

If the President still doesn't get it, maybe he and Karl Rove should take into account the words of a half-page ad taken out in the *Sierra Vista Herald* following the Minuteman patrols in Arizona: "Thanks for doing what our government won't—close the border to illegal aliens. It was the quietest month we've had in many years . . . You made us feel safe because the border was closed." If the President and the Republican establishment won't fight for the security of our borders, ordinary Americans have shown they will, and they would likely respond to leadership that defends their real interests. What are your plans in 2008, Congressman Tancredo?

Corresponding editor Wayne Allensworth is the author of The Russian Question.

CHRISTIANITY

Episcopalians Go Interfaith

by Mark Tooley

An interfaith education conference in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Episcopal Church warned that evangelicals and evangelism are potential obstacles to positive relations between Christianity and other religions.

Among the featured speakers at the Interfaith Education Initiative was Methodist theologian Wesley Ariarajah, a former official of the World Council of Churches who has denied the need for Christian evangelism, as well as Harvard professor Diane Eck, also a Methodist and Harvard's first openly lesbian dormitory mother. She heads the Pluralism Project, which celebrates the growing interfaith nature of America's religious demographic.

Also speaking was Shanta Premawardhana, who heads the National Council of Churches' interfaith efforts and who shares Ariarajah's and Eck's preference for dialogue over conversion. The conference was sponsored jointly by Episcopal Relief and Development and the church's Office of Ecumenical and Interfaith Relations.

Speaking before about 100 people in an auditorium perched high in one of the National Cathedral's gothic spires, Ariarajah assured a sympathetic audience that the world is "irreversibly interfaith."

"Globalization has thrown us together as an interfaith community," said Ariarajah, who teaches ecumenical theology at Drew University in New Jersey. "We're removed from isolation and forced to be engaged."

"Christian ecumenism has lowered the boundaries between traditions," Ariarajah enthused. "There's a new realization by the church that pluralism is here to stay."

Ariarajah noted that, after three centuries of global evangelism, only one third of the world's population is Christian. Only three percent of India is Christian, despite intense missions efforts. The problems that confront the world cross religious boundaries, he said, and surmounting them cannot be achieved by any one religion.

"We need partnerships," Ariarajah insisted. But the "misuse" of religion, such as that of the Islamic terrorists on September 11, is present in all religions. "The credibility of religion itself is at stake today."

The former interfaith officer for the World Council of Churches asserted that interfaith dialogue does not mean "running away from one's own faith." Instead, it should be seen as "mutual correction and enrichment." He admitted, however, that dialogue is becoming more difficult because of "internal diversity" within religions.

In particular, Ariarajah was speaking of the problem of "militant Islam" and "fundamentalist" Christianity. "They're in our churches," he said of evangelicals, who make interfaith outreach more complicated.

Ariarajah admitted that the different religions do not worship the same god, but, he wondered, "Would God not listen because the praying person has the wrong understanding of God?" Ultimately, it is God's business to listen to everybody's prayers, he said. "From God's perspective there can only be a human family."

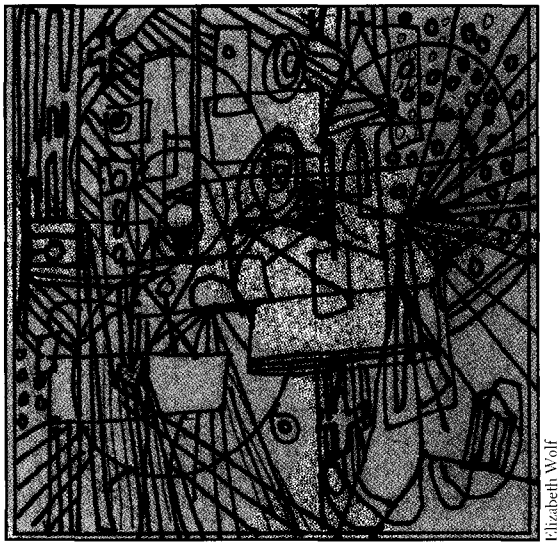
Regarding biblical language that asserts Jesus Christ is the only way to God, Ariarajah warned that the language of "love and faith" should not be confused with the "language of truth." Just as his daughter might call him the "best daddy in the world," so, too, can Christians call Jesus the only Lord, because that is true of their "experience."

"We take seriously [the exclusive truth claims of Christianity] because it's a judgment on other people," Ariarajah explained. "Jesus didn't engage in polemics against other religious traditions except the religion of mammon."

Ariarajah declared that September 11 had changed how America sees the world, while the war in Iraq has changed how the world sees America. "Both are based on views that violence can solve issues."

As a Methodist minister in his native Sri Lanka, Ariarajah developed his syncretistic views about religion as a response to being a member of a minority religion in a predominantly Hindu culture. In studied contrast, Diane Eck recalled her own initial forays into interfaith understanding when she headed to India to explore the mysteries of Hinduism. "I've been to more Hindu temples than any [other] Methodist!" Eck boasted, as she remembered her first visits to the Indian city of Banaris and trying to understand the worldview of Hindus.

Her 2001 book, *A New Religious America*, emphasizes growing religious pluralism in America, almost to exaggeration. "The Islamic world isn't elsewhere," Eck said. "It includes D.C. and Chicago." She prefers not to examine actual demographic statistics showing that 80 to 85



Elizabeth Wolf

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percent of Americans still describe themselves as Christian, while less than 5 percent profess to belong to other religions.

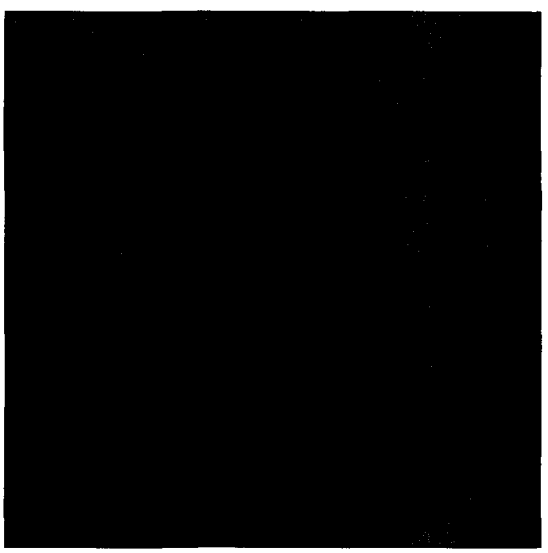
Like most pluralists and religious liberals, Eck de-emphasized the exclusive claims that Jesus made about Himself in favor of a more inclusive Jesus:

> The Gospel . . . is not in the first instance about ideas but about relationships, transcending and breaking boundaries of ethnicity, legalisms, etc., to reach out to the other just as Jesus did.

Eck lamented "conservatives," such as evangelist Franklin Graham, who have said "inflammatory, ugly things" that are "instantly heard" by Muslims around the world. Conservative Christians find "tolerance to be intolerable" if it means admitting that other religions worship the same god as Christianity, she hypothesized. Nonetheless, September 11 was "great for opening interfaith dialogue."

Of course, religious liberals such as Eck and Ariarajah represent a dwindling minority within global Christianity, for whom organizations such as the World Council and National Council of Churches are increasingly marginal.

More pointed in his warnings about religious conservatives than either Eck or Ariarajah, Shanta Premawardhana said there are two visions of America: one pluralist, and one monolithic. In the past, the pendulum has always swung toward homogeneity in America. However, recent immigrants are not melting into American culture as their predecessors did, he claimed.



Elizabeth Wolf

Before coming to the National Council of Churches (NCC), Premawardhana was a Chicago-area Baptist pastor and leader in interfaith dialogue there. Like Ariarajah, he is originally from Sri Lanka. Not surprisingly, he belongs to the Alliance for Baptists, a small, liberal spin-off from the Southern Baptist Convention that disagreed with the SBC's conservative direction.

The NCC is outspokenly supportive of the United Nations, and Premawardhana tried to link America's growing skepticism about that organization and growing "unilateralism" by the United States to the rise of conservative Christianity.

"This administration is unilateral," Premawardhana fretted. "There is a link between religion and unilateralism. Multilateralism is messy and deals with ambiguity." Trying to explain the failure of religious liberals to capture a large audience, he complained that "a lot of people like certainty. They [conservatives] use Scripture better than we do."

The Christian Right used to "crusade" against communism and is now focused on opposing "the liberal United Nations agenda," Premawardhana explained. He said Christian conservatives root their ideology in biblical prophecy, "rapture theology," apocalyptic books by Hal Lindsey, "fear of the new world order," and Christian Zionism. "End time prophecies have a huge impact on public policy," he observed with concern.

Premawardhana recalled that the Christian Right organized in the 1970's around school prayer, the Equal Rights Amendment, and homosexual rights. "They are very active even in the Episcopal Church," he warned. But at least the "progressive community" is being heard. The "unilateral" actions of President Bush have caused a nearly universal response by the progressive religious community, he said. As an example, he recalled a televised apology to the Iraqi people that the NCC broadcast in the United States.

"We will do our theology better" if other religions are involved, Premawardhana claimed. He recalled that an NCC publication called "God is One—The Way of Islam" was distributed to every NCC church and paid for by a Muslim group.

Premawardhana regretted that conservative Christians are not interested in interfaith dialogue, as "progressive" religionists understand it. Instead, conservatives see it as an opening for evangelism. Until conservatives are willing to change, dialogue with them will not work, he said. "[I]nterfaith dialogue must come with the ability to change." The dialogue should not be framed in "Christian terms." Many believe that the Bible is not helpful for interfaith exchanges, he observed. But Scripture "can be helpful if we read it more carefully."

On the whole, the remarks by Ariarajah, Eck, and Premawardhana were probably more thoughtful than the Interfaith Education Initiative might have deserved. Few, if anybody, in attendance at the event audibly commented on the many layers of irony about their Episcopal Church and its concerns for interfaith dialogue.

Global South Anglicans now increasingly fear that their ties to the U.S. Episcopal Church, with its pro-"gay" stance, will undermine their relations with other religionists, especially Muslims, who are anxious to portray Christianity as decadent. The Episcopal Church, U.S.A., is dwindling in size, unlike more robustly orthodox Anglicans elsewhere. De-emphasizing evangelism even further in favor of multifaith dialogue hardly seems the kind of medicine this denomination needs. And, as Episcopalians increasingly implode doctrinally, it is difficult to know what exactly they have to "dialogue" about with true believers in other faiths. Pluralism, which is displacing the Trinity and the Incarnation as core doctrine for many Episcopalian elites, is hardly a foundation for a substantive interfaith exchange.

You tell us what you believe while we tell you what we don't believe seems to be the approach of Episcopalians and other liberal Western Christians who obsess over dialogue with non-Christian religions. In an added irony, their approach to dialogue seems to be confining their conversation to grumbling and commiserating within their own confined circles.

Unlike many other liberal Western Christians, however, Episcopalians are able to conduct their interfaith grumbling within the gothic splendor of cathedrals and with the beneficence of ancient endowments embedded deep within America's most boutique of religions.

Mark Tooley is a research associate at the Institute on Religion and Democracy in Washington, D.C.

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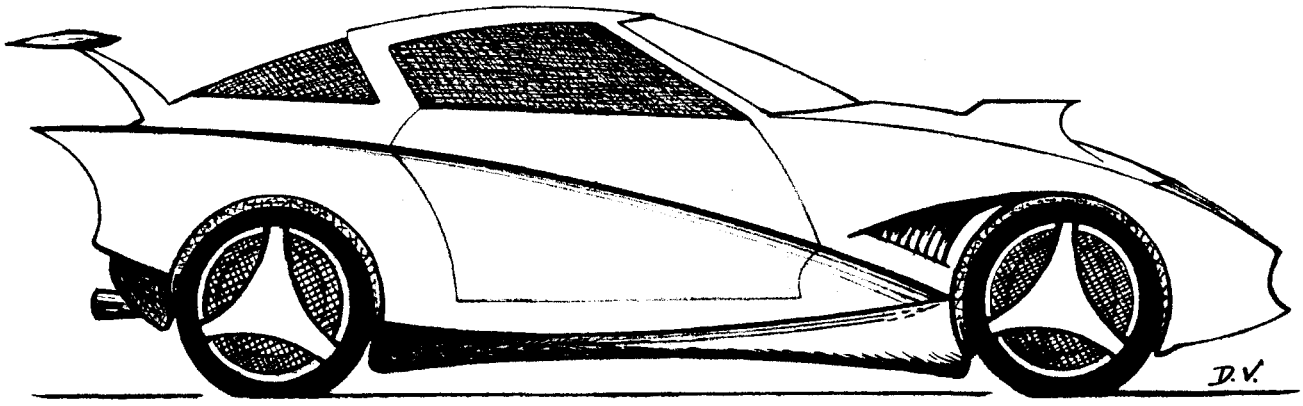
Hot-Rod Catholicism



Why is so much of Catholicism gutless, anemic, and wimpy these days? Is it because there are so many touchie-feelie types in the priesthood? You know, "Let's all hold hands now and sing 'All Shall Be Well,' and then let's give one another a big hug." It's like being back at summer camp. No wonder the sacred liturgy often resembles a hootenanny!

And we get camp-fire sermonettes with all the substance and nutrition of a marshmallow. Where's the beef? We don't hear much, if anything, about the Church's teachings on abortion, contraception, euthanasia, homosexuality, premarital sex, pornography, consumerism, the indissolubility of marriage, Purgatory, or Hell. Pope John Paul II valiantly called for a New Evangelization, and we sit around hearing from fey priests about how we need to get in touch with our inner rainbow.

Hey, it's time to streamline our old clunker, beef up the suspension, soup up the engine and slap a supercharger on it, dump the sludgebox transmission in favor of a 6-speed manual gearbox, kick out the duplicitous pansy priests, and *get movin'*.

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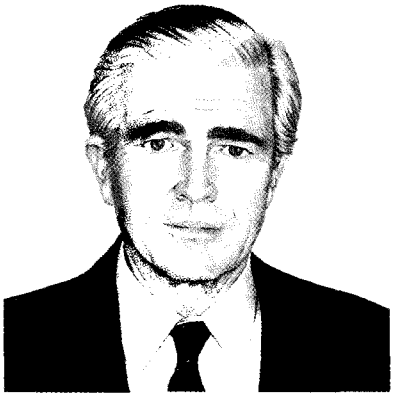
by George McCartney

Pimp Dreams



Hustle and Flow

Produced by Crunk Pictures and New Deal Productions
Directed and written by Craig Brewer
Distributed by MTV Films and Paramount Classics

Bulletin: Pimps and rappers have hearts; they have yearnings; they have midlife crises, for heaven's sake! Sure, they exploit and abuse women, deal dope, and occasionally shoot one another; but, hell, they're just folks striving for the American Dream like everyone else in our uproarious republic.

So what does a rapper-pimp's American Dream look like? Director Craig Brewer's first film *Hustle and Flow* puts us in the picture with Skinny Black (Chris "Ludacris" Bridges convincingly playing a standard-issue platinum rapper, being one himself). Skinny tells it like it is. For this beaux ideal of all would-be hip-hop niggahs, both black and white, the American Dream is "a drink in your hand and p---y in your lap." As dreams go, this does not seem to be asking for much. Indeed, one might say it asks for much too little. What about a family, a home? What about a reasonably priced education for your kids? How about the freedom to seek truth, beauty, and goodness? Forget about it. In hip-hop culture, hormonal spontaneity is all. White-bread goals have to wait at the end of a long, long line of fleshly gratifications.

Few films this summer have been hailed as enthusiastically as *Hustle and Flow*. Mainstream reviewers—mostly white—seem to regard it as the second coming of Olivier's *Hamlet*. Having won its first accolades as an entry in the Sundance Film Festival, *Hustle* has been on a roll ever since. But as I watched the film, I found myself puzzled. How were we to respond to Brewer's story of DJay (Terrence Howard), the put-upon Memphis pimp with aspirations to become a rap artist? The character seemed such a hopeless loser that I began to think Brewer was satirizing the slender criminal swath of the African-American population that white businessmen celebrate for phat profits in recordings and films. Few images could be more satiric than Brewer's close up of DJay sporting hair curlers as he ponders fate. "I guess I got one of those midlife crises," he sighs with hangdog angst as he waits for one of his hos to untwist his coiffure.

Check out George McCartney's reviews from our back issues online at www.ChroniclesMagazine.org

In his mid-30's, DJay seems to think he is doing manly work, ferrying his stable of three hookers on their daily rounds in his corroded Chevrolet Caprice Classic. He thinks of himself as a master diplomat in the sexual-exchange market, alternately touting his girls' charms and firmly disciplining their wayward whims. And yet, he doesn't feel fulfilled. He has problems. One of his girls, the marvelously named Lexus (Paula Jai Parker), is a shrew given to sassing him back when he commands her to work one back alley too many. When she steps too far out of line, calling him her chauffeur, he swiftly demonstrates his authority by throwing her and her three-year-old son out of his house in the middle of the night. That's the kind of man he is. His other girls are more amenable, if inadvertently burdensome. Shug (Taraji P. Henson) is utterly compliant but something of a drag on his operations, since she is eight-months pregnant with the baby some John has bestowed upon her. Nola (Taryn Manning) is neither shrill nor meek. She is a wan passive-aggressive white woman, whining that she wants to do something, anything, other than marketing her body. Just what this would be, however, she hasn't a clue. As you can see, the poor man has his hands full. It is all he can do to keep up with his regimen of hair care, and, as we all know, a man has to keep up his appearances if he is to hustle his hos and deal his dope. This is midlife crisis, indeed.

As a portrait of America's feckless underclass, Brewer's film gives us a vision of lost souls thoroughly marinated in the pungent self-pity dished up daily on Oprah and Dr. Phil. DJay thinks himself overworked, driving his unappreciative hos to their impromptu assignations. It never occurs to him that he might try his hand at something a little more, shall we say, respectable. Heavy lifting is not his thing. No, DJay would rather mope over his midlife crisis. That is, until the film's catalyst shows up in the person of Skinny Black. Skinny went to the same school as DJay and ran drugs and hos himself. But now he is a success story, performing exuberantly unrepentant raps about his criminal life "back in the day" for all the world to admire. And, unaccountably enough, the world has responded by making him ridiculously rich. It is not surprising that when DJay learns Skinny is going to visit his friend's bar on the Fourth of July—catch the symbolism—he concludes his own American Dream has come a-knocking.

Convincing himself Skinny had once been his close friend, DJay further fantasizes that his old buddy will hoist him into the rapster limelight. When a junkie customer shows up to sell him a child's electronic keyboard and synthesizer, he senses that he has come a step closer. He has got his music. Then he meets Key, a former chum who is now a respectable married man working as a sound engineer. DJay begins to recruit him for his technical producer. Although Key is at least wary of DJay, he invites him to a recording session

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he is doing for his church. DJay shows up to hear a middle-aged black woman give an astonishingly beautiful rendition of a spiritual with lyrics imploring Jesus to change her life. Moved to tears, DJay clearly recognizes prophecy in her aria. He becomes even more determined to transform his life. He goes home to "spit some flow"—that is, chant an improvised rap song against the thumpingly synthesized beat of his toy keyboard—certain that it will gain him the particular salvation he hankers for: celebrity, wealth, and a plentiful supply of compliant women.

As in his other profession, DJay is glad to let others do the heavy lifting in his bid to reach rap's empyrean. Key and his colleague, Shelby (DJ Qualls), a geeky white impresario of synthetic music, pitch in mightily. Key's interest is commercial; Shelby's, worshipful. The white boy is devoted to hip-hop culture. "Rap is coming back to the South," he declares enthusiastically. "It's all about pain and p---y." He even sees rap as a democratizing force. "Every man has a right to contribute a verse," he rhapsodizes. It turns out, however, that DJay's verse is not quite as lapidary as the tune doctors expected. "Beat that bitch," DJay chants, genuinely enough, in their first recording session, until Key informs him that the refrain may limit his ditty's airplay a tad. Shelby comes up with an edifying alternative: "Whoop that trick." Then he and Key piece DJay's ramblings into a coherent lyric:

> You know it's hard out here for a pimp
> when you're trying to get money for the rent
> and your Cadillac gas money's spent
> with a whole lot of bitches jumping ship.

Cole Porter this ain't. What's more, it isn't DJay, either. Deciding DJay's voice is not quite up to crooning Shelby's lyrics, Key brings in Shug to sing them, which she does feelingly, knowing their truth all too well. This leaves DJay to mumble some standard rap doggerel in which the most frequently used words rhyme with *stuck* and *that other pucker*. This seemed to me a good send-up of the rap world: badass performers shouting vulgarly about their supposed urban ordeals and their commitment to "keeping it real," when, in fact, their recordings are crudely manufactured ersatz. After an interminable number of recording sessions, two questions arise. First, will DJay's composition get airplay? And second, will Time Warner make another $100 million pushing demented soul-rot on the young? Brewer answers these questions obliquely and, I thought at first, with a measure of wit, especially when two black prison guards approach DJay to ask for his help publicizing some homemade tapes of their own rapping. This scene, I judged, surely suggests that those hooked on rap's stunted aspirations are as hopelessly trapped as if they were in a prison lockdown.

Yet, given the film's setup, I wondered why I wasn't laughing more. Had Brewer played his satire too realistically? Was he too close to his pathetic characters to allow for irony? I got my answers when I listened to an interview with Brewer a few days after seeing his movie. In a discussion with *New York Times* film critic Elvis Mitchell, Brewer explained that he wanted to show his audience an authentic Memphis story about a disenfranchised artist manqué who seeks redemption through his soulful creativity. So that was it. What I had thought was satire was, instead, an earnest tale, another version of *Rocky*—this time, on a synthesizer. As Brewer went on about having met people like DJay—sharp, inventive, but tragically ignored by respectable society—I wondered what he thought of the women in his narrative. What were their dreams? What flow might they spit, had they the opportunity? And, more generally, what did he think of romanticizing hustling low-life blacks? If I were of African descent, I would be disgusted by Brewer's movie, maybe especially so because Brewer is white. Further, I would be incensed by the fulsome welcome that it has received from the mainstream media. Visit the movie-review website *RottenTomatoes.com*, and see for yourself. *Hustle* is being hailed as explosive, charming, transcendent, and redemptive. Desson Thomson in the *Washington Post* provides my favorite tribute. He found the film "a surprisingly charming story that—in certain sections—almost crystallizes into the sweetness of a Mickey Rooney-Judy Garland musical." You could shellac your basement with condescension this thick.

This is all the more depressing since the performances are all rather fine, and Howard's, excellent. In his interview, Brewer mentioned that Howard despises rap, which helps explain why he alone seems to know what is needed in this morally and aesthetically confused film. He plays DJay as a moral imbecile who belatedly and confusedly awakens to his mortality and dimly realizes he must account for himself. Unfortunately, DJay is so culturally ignorant that he helplessly turns to the crassest and most cynically commercial of popular forms to express his inchoate thoughts and longings. This calls for satire. Brewer has given us drivel instead.

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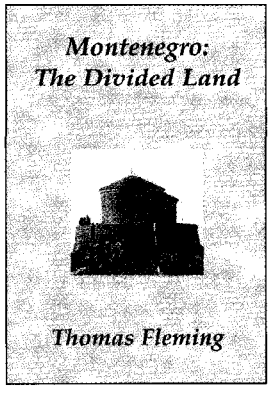

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A MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN CULTURE

This Time, Be Prepared

The Serb land of Montenegro is once again at the crossroads of history. The blood-soaked mountains and dramatic coastline of this small land have been fought over by Illyrians, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines, Turks, and Venetians, and, in the 20th century, by the armies of Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Germany. In World War II, Montenegro lost more men, per capita, than any nation of Europe, and now it is the latest target of the so-called international community, which has tried to create a phony separatist movement (complete with a bogus national church) to continue the disastrous policies that have involved the United States in wars over Bosnia and Kosovo.

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by Chilton Williamson, Jr.

Two Trails to the Rainbow

It was in the spring of 1925 that a young Easterner named Clyde Kluckhohn, on sabbatical from Princeton to spend a year working on a cattle ranch near Ramah, New Mexico, first learned from a Zuñi Indian of the natural phenomenon called Nonne-zoche Not-se-lid (meaning "Rainbow of Stone"), standing at the very end of the Navajo world but considered by those few who had seen it more wonderful than the Great Cañon itself. "Far, far," the Zuñi explained, "hard on horses . . . no water . . . no food . . . nothing but rock and rock." Kluckhohn, though still green as a willow-wand after a year out West, concluded nevertheless that Nonne-zoche Not-se-lid was one of the things he was determined to see before returning to the East and school. Barely able to control a riding horse, and with scarcely a notion how to load a pack animal, he purchased two horses from a local livestock dealer and set out from Ramah. After several mishaps along even this short way, Kluckhohn arrived in Albuquerque, where he met up with a "knight of the road" named Roy Anderson, a youth his own age from New York City *en route* to Chicago astride a gelding called Bill. Ten days later, they set out on an expedition together, westward across the land of the Navajo in search of Nonne-zoche Not-se-lid.

* * *

Among patriots of the rural American West, generally, and the Colorado Plateau, in particular, the great cause for celebration is the present condition of Lake Powell ("Lake Foul" to Ed Abbey), whose apparent impending demise would reverse the preservationist movement's colossal defeat in the late 1950's, when it lost the legal battle to prevent the construction of Glen Canyon Dam on the Colorado River and the flooding of the mystical maze of slickrock canyons behind it with 253 square miles of water encircled by 1,900 miles of shoreline. Two decades of drought in the West, aggravated by explosive population growth downstream in southern Nevada and California, have shrunk the lake dramatically, leaving marinas high and dry while raising the drowned canyon systems into view again. Saturated by lake water after 40 years' submersion, the sandstone releases captured moisture like a pressed sponge to irrigate the slickrock wilderness, watering the germinating flora and succoring the fauna the vegetation attracts. For Abbey, Glen Canyon was simply the most beautiful place on earth. The back-of-beyond grapevine (sustained nowadays by electronic technology in addition to smoke signaling, drumming, and subversive conversation over three-two beers) has it that the canyon is not only visible but visitable by old-fashioned pedal locomotion. After discovering that even the *New York Times* was wise to the liberation of Glen Canyon, I called Tom Sheeley in Flagstaff to suggest we make our spring backpack trip there. Tom, while intrigued, cautioned that skiffs, kayaks, or rafts might be necessary for part of the trip down from the Escalante Plateau to the Colorado River. When an intervening concert tour caused him to abandon plans for the trip, I phoned Don Eason in Fort Collins with a similar proposition. Don is a design engineer, a man who can make a computer talk the way Tom Sheeley makes a classical guitar sing. Within days, he'd provided me with a series of links proving, beyond argument, that the waters of Lake Powell have not receded sufficiently to make Glen Canyon navigable on foot. Why not, he offered by way of an alternative, a hike from Navajo Mountain on the Arizona-Utah border down to Rainbow Bridge, spanning Bridge Creek a mile or so upstream of the lake's present waterline?

* * *

Traveling by an arduous route over often nonexistent trails indicated by local bushwhackers ("You can't miss it!"), their lives frequently jeopardized by a series of bad horse trades, Clyde Kluckhohn and Roy Anderson made their way over the Jemez Mountains and across northwestern New Mexico to the Land of the Dineh. Here, their candid naivete, humility in attempting to master a nearly impossible language, adventurous pluck, and touching greenness won them the trust and friendship of the Navajo even in advance, as word of their approach preceded them from one village to the next until they arrived at last at Kayenta, Arizona, and the trading post of John Wetherill—the legendary rancher, explorer, and pot hunter who discovered Mesa Verde and whose private excavations were directly responsible for the Antiquities Act of 1906 urged by President Roosevelt, later to be himself a guest of the Wetherills. Among the many discoveries Wetherill made famous was Rainbow Bridge, which he was away visiting with his good friends Zane Grey and Jesse Lasky when the young adventurers presented themselves to Mrs. Wetherill. Disregarding warnings against attempting to find their way, unguided, around Navajo Mountain and down through the sandstone maze to the bridge, Kluckhohn and Anderson rode out from Kayenta a few days later on fresh mounts, uneasily aware as they went of their hosts' expectation that only the rare luck of meeting John Wetherill himself, returning along the trail, stood between them and destruction in the roseate heart of the desert wilderness.

* * *

Don had brought his sons Brendan and Cullen, aged 14 and 11, along on the expedition, making a party of four. At the end of a long day's drive from Fort Collins, we reached the Valley of the Gods a few miles north of Mexican Hat, Utah, and camped on the soft red floor of the desert below Cedar Mesa, 2,000 vertical feet overhead. We rose next morning as the towering sandstone chimneys standing round began to glow, and by ten o'clock Kayenta was behind us, and we were passing the turnoff to Betatakin. Approaching Nat-sis-an—Navajo Mountain—from the southeast by a washboard reservation road, we lost a half-hour when we stopped to change a tire for a Navajo family stranded by a flat and completely

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helpless without a jack, using the Montero's to install the doughnut they carried for a spare in a trunk filled with wooden totem poles carved in China. The two-track trails diverging from the trunk road were unmarked, resulting in the loss of another 90 minutes as Don maneuvered in compound-low over the rock-cobbled and boulder-strewn apron of the dark whale-backed monolith of Nat-sis-an in search of the route leading to the trailhead. The third try proved lucky, but it was two o'clock already when we shouldered the packs and stood poised with our hiking staffs in hand and laden with water weight (two-and-a-half liters per person) to survey the vast labyrinth of purple, red, pink, lavender, buff, and yellow rock into which we were preparing to descend.

"Seven miles to water," Don said. "We should make it down with daylight to spare, so long as we maintain a good pace and just keep moving."

* * *

The Kluckhohn-Anderson party traveled by the North Trail to the Rainbow Bridge, approaching the wilderness of rock they called the Moon by way of the north face of Nat-sis-an. Both trails, north and south, were "developed" over the years by John Wetherill, in places with the aid of a few charges of dynamite. How much of this "development" was accomplished by 1925, I have no idea; according to Kluckhohn's personal account in his wonderful book *To the Foot of the Rainbow*, it must have been minimal. In this land of tight-spaced red domes, dubbed "planet tops" by Clyde and Roy, the obvious path appeared to be around and between these stone hemispheres. When a way round proved impossible, they considered the impossible—and discovered the marks of horseshoe nails in the soft sandstone hummocks. Wetherill's "trail" led *over*, not *around*, the great bald-rock domes,

> up cliffs so steep and slippery that we in our boots could not walk up them; we clung to our horses' necks with our hands and pressed our spurs into their flanks. . . . In one place we went across a ledge so narrow that our horses could not stand on it with their feet parallel, and it was quite a nice drop to the little cañon below. There again we clung to our horses' necks and prayed.

What Wetherill's Hollywood and East Coast dudes must have made of this experience is a matter for entertaining speculation.

Past the domes, including the horror Kluckhohn and Anderson named Glass Mountain, were twisting, converging canyons leading to Zane Grey's Surprise Valley, a lovely self-contained oasis surrounded entirely by red sandstone walls breached by two narrow apertures whose sole exit amounted to "an exhausting perpendicular process." Beyond Surprise Valley, the adventurers came to Nonnezoche Boco—Bridge Cañon itself! But even here, Wetherill's trail, crossing and recrossing the slippery rocks of the creekbed, burrowing through thick groves of oak and willow, and traversing rock ledges 20 feet above the canyon floor, offered only partial respite from the ordeal it had so consistently presented. The tired horses, inattentive and careless of their footing, stumbled and fell, causing their disappointed riders to make camp finally in a place they felt in their bones to be less than a day's journey from their destination.

* * *

Topographical maps don't lie, exactly, but they have been known to dissemble—as our map, downloaded from the internet, certainly did. The South Trail is said to be tougher than the North—in fact, it has the reputation of being the most strenuous in southeastern Utah. The traverse along the westerly base of Navajo Mountain proved rougher by far than either Don or I had expected, actually gaining elevation on its way to the pass above Cliff Creek from which the descent to the Moon begins. In a change of plans, we camped for the night on a windswept promontory a half-mile short of the pass and made an early start next morning, struggling down a long tongue of avalanched rubble to the creek bottom, where we found water at last. Here, we established our base camp on a grassy bench above the creek beneath a sandstone overhang screened by piñon pines—a natural campsite where John Wetherill and Zane Grey had doubtless preceded us a time or two, or more. Sleepy from fatigue and shrimp jambalaya reconstituted with creek water, we fell asleep listening to a performance by the full canyonlands orchestra—frogs, bullbats, owls, coyotes, with now and then a cougar joining in—whose crescendi were loud enough to make conversation between the tents finally impossible. Don arose at a little past dawn to take photographs, and, at nine, we resumed the march to the bridge, under saddle still but carrying only a liter of water apiece and lunch in the deflated packs.

Redbud Pass, like a mountain arisen between the pressing walls of a slick-rock canyon, is one of the places where Wetherill notably employed his dynamite. Either the trail over it has significantly deteriorated since his day, or the horses he rode belonged to the winged breed. We scrambled up the gravelly steep on the south side, spidered down over boulders on the north, and hiked on another mile to Echo Park, where Rosebud and Bridge Canyons meet. If Echo Park were not, in fact, where Kluckhohn and Anderson spent their last night before reaching Not-se-lid, they failed to avail themselves of God's own Hampton Inn, prepared especially for them from the beginning of time. As for Don, Brendan, Cullen, and me—we kept walking.

"Oh!" Don exclaimed, as, lagging the hurrying boys around the final bend, we encountered Rainbow Bridge spanning the canyon ahead: tall enough and wide enough to accommodate the Capitol in Washington, with plenty of room to spare. Simple though his response was, I couldn't think of anything to add to it.

* * *

"It was hard to believe that this thing was of cold hard stone," Clyde Kluckhohn writes in his book.

> We found that we had not realized the great size of the arch, for it is so wonderfully graceful and so perfectly proportioned that its beauty rather than its colossal size first engages the attention. . . . For hours we walked and sat and looked. . . . At last we slept. At the foot of the rainbow, we had not found the pot of gold but content and happiness.

* * *

Forty years later, the Kluckhohn-Anderson party could have power-boated directly under the bridge, following an inlet of Lake Powell. Today, the Eason-Williamson one could have struck within a mile of the thing, owing to the lake's protracted evaporation.

But who would have Nonne-zoche Not-se-lid in that way, on those terms? No one but the sort of man who would be content with a whore in place of a lover, or a wife. c

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The Best Revenge

by Christopher Check

An Instinctive Jacobite

After five visits, I still get turned around in Rome, but, in Edinburgh, I consulted a map only on the first day. A quick look around from the summit of any one of the city's hills is worth more than an hour examining a map.

By the end of our Convivium, I've climbed all the hills, and, on our last day, I stand at the crest of Arthur's Seat, the remains of a prehistoric volcano on the central city's eastern edge, admiring Edinburgh and catching my breath. The ascent would have been easier, had I kept to the path; instead, I climbed the slippery makeshift stairs dug by locals into the grassy hillside. For my trouble: unflattering grass stains on my khakis and a humbling shortness of breath.

And a magnificent view. In the distance, merchant liners navigate the Firth of Forth, but I, having recently read Mattingly, see the English fleet at last quitting its pursuit of Medina Sidonia's broken Armada. Below me stands Holyrood Palace, where the tragic Queen of Scots stood helpless as she watched her husband's thugs stab to death her faithful Italian secretary, David Riccio. At the other end of the Royal Mile, atop Castle Rock, sits Edinburgh Castle. Saint Margaret of Scotland, niece of Edward the Confessor and mother of eight, died in the castle, having four days earlier learned that her husband and eldest son fell in battle with William the Conquerer's son Rufus. The 12th-century chapel built in Saint Margaret's honor by her third son, David I, is the oldest building in Edinburgh Castle.

Between the Firth of Forth and the medieval city, the Georgian New Town spreads its broad streets, checkerboard blocks, crescents of row houses, and large private gardens. The New Town is a triumph (if that is the word) of rational city planning, but, as I contrast modern and medieval Edinburgh, I recall an expression popular at The Rockford Institute, and one that sums up the theme of our Convivium: "theory against life." On the one side, Scottish Enlightenment heroes David Hume, Adam Smith, and Francis Hutcheson; on the other, reactionary romantic Sir Walter Scott.

Our Convivium begins, in fact, with afternoon visits to Hume's grave and Scott's monument, after a quick look around from the top of Calton Hill. Calton, which rises behind our hotel, the Royal Terrace, is a shorter climb than Arthur's Seat but enough to alert our 30 guests that vigorous walks are essential to Convivia. With Don Livingston leading, we make our way down the other side to Hume's grave.

A spirited debate breaks out among our company about the extent and nature of Hume's belief. Laughter and groans follow as we discover a nearby statue of Abraham Lincoln. This monument to Scottish soldiers who fought for the Union has at its base a bronze slave genuflecting and raising a hand of supplication to his emancipator. As a debate arises over whether more Scots fought for North or South, Sam Dickson of McClellanville, South Carolina, insists I take his picture with Lincoln lest his friends not believe him.

Up Princes Street, we make our way to Scott's Memorial. I am with the minority of those who do not find the neogothic structure over the top, but all agree that the deerhound at his feet is fitting. There is no shortage of good pubs nearby, a surprising number without televisions, and some in our party peel off for a pint before heading back to the Royal Terrace.

This is our first Convivium where the theme has been framed as a debate. Tom Fleming has taken Scott's side—the side of blood and soil, the particular, the local, the traditional, the ancient. He is outnumbered by Scottish Enlightenment apologists—Don and Marie Livingston of Emory University and Peter Jones, professor of philosophy emeritus at the University of Edinburgh. The presentations are polite, but no punches are pulled.

The highlight of the Convivium is a motorcoach tour of the Borders. Our first stop is the 15th-century Rosslyn Chapel. Hardly a square inch of the interior is left uncarved. Our entertaining guide can only explain a fraction of the chapel's ornaments: scenes from the Old and New Testament, Deadly Sins, Cardinal Virtues, Celtic green men. He spares no derision for the *Da Vinci Code* enthusiasts and other kooks who have descended on the chapel in recent years attempting to decode its Masonic (or is it Opus Dei?) secrets. Pointing out the musical notes carved into the ceiling of the sanctuary, our guide explains, "A secret door, leading to a secret chamber, containing secret treasures—perhaps the Holy Grail!—will reveal itself to anyone who can decipher the notes, put them in the right order, play them on the right instrument, while standing in the right spot, on the right day of the year, wearing the right pair of shoes . . . "

At Traquair House, Scotland's oldest inhabited castle, we are greeted by Lady Catherine Maxwell Stuart, who gives us the house's rich Jacobite history, noting that the "Bear Gates" at the front of the estate will remain locked, as they have been since 1745, until a Stuart is back on the throne. In the meantime, she and her family are keeping the papist end up by brewing a powerful Jacobite Ale that goes perfectly with the fresh river trout and cheese we have for lunch.

Even if one has never read a Scott novel, it is difficult not to love the man after having seen his home, Abbotsford. The 9,000-volume library is itself a lifetime achievement, but to it Scott added great relics of Scotland's past, each more fantastic than the one before: a lock of Bonnie Prince Charlie's hair; the crucifix Mary Queen of Scots clutched in the shambles; Rob Roy's pistol, dirk, and broadsword. Most inspiring, perhaps, is Scott's writing desk where he labored tirelessly until his death to pay off a crushing debt from his failed publishing house that today's limited-liability laws would have absolved.

In Scott's dining room, we are shown the spot where, during his final weeks, the writer had his bed placed so that he could look out the picture window onto the Border Country below. Our guide tells the story with real affection and then, in full voice, declares, "We get our shar' of one-world types through here, and when I tell 'em of Scott's love for his place and his Scotland, they sneer and say we are all suppos' to love everyone and everyplace jus' the same. Well, if there's any one of ye here who'd like to say that, let 'im say it, 'cause I'm ready for him!" He crouches a little and raises his fists. Our company burst into cheers and applause, though back on the bus, Tom and I are accused

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of using a plant. The truth is, only a cynic could make a life of giving tours at Abbotsford and feel any differently.

Our final stops are the ruins of two magnificent Border abbeys, Melrose and Dryburgh. The former holds, legend has it, the heart of Robert the Bruce; the latter, the tomb of Walter Scott. Both show the handiwork of Henry VIII, who had practiced on some 3,000 abbeys in England before laying waste to Scotland's, during the "Rough Wooing."

The ruins of Holyrood Abbey, at the base of Edinburgh's Royal Mile, is another of Henry's ruins. It is there we begin our second walk. We turn off the Royal Mile into the graveyard of Canongate Church. Here lies Adam Smith, provoking Harry Teasley of Tampa to declare the space hallowed ground. Farther up the Royal Mile is Saint Giles, into which we duck to escape the rain.

The interior of Saint Giles Kirk has been stripped of its relics and ornamentation and so subdivided that it is difficult to sense that it is a church. Marked, however, is the spot from which, in 1637, Jenny Geddes hurled her stool at a preacher attempting to establish use of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. When Tom Fleming points out that the event and the subsequent riot were stage managed, one in our group dubs Geddes the Rosa Parks of the Scottish Reformation.

Across the street from Saint Giles is the house of John Knox, though he seems to have lived there for even less time than Ulysses Grant lived in Galena, Illinois. Peter Stanlis points out, with some pleasure, that Knox was evicted by his landlady for failure to pay rent. I sneak away from the group for a moment to see if I can find the rebel's grave in what is now a parliament car park in the square on the south side of Saint Giles. H.V. Morton claims the exact grave is unknown but that a brass marker indicates its approximate spot.

Finding no marker, I ask the guard patrolling the square.

"There isn't any marker on the grave," he tells me. "Bu' I'll tell ye where 'tis so ye can go over an' 'ave a joomp on it!"

"What I'd like to do on it would get me arrested," I answer.

"Noo . . . I'm a policeman, and I woodn' arrest ye. I might come over and join ye," he says. "It's parking spot noomber twenty-one."

Parking spot number 21 is a handicapped spot and, like most of the handicapped spots in America, is empty. I have my jump on the grave, refraining from a coarser but doubtless more gratifying act (which I could have accomplished with real aplomb, having earlier downed a terrific pint of a Scottish bitter called Deuchars at a 17th-century pub now named for Waterloo hero Ensign Charles Ewart). Two men turn their heads and stare for a second as the sound of my feet landing on the pavement fills the square.

Christopher Check

The ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, the resting place of Sir Walter Scott.

I return to the policeman now sitting in his guardhouse.

"Are you a Roman Catholic?" I ask.

He nods his head. "Aye."

We shake hands.

"We 'ave our own cathedral, y'know," he says.

"Saint Mary's," I answer. "I went to Mass there on Sunday and saw Saint Andrew's bones."

"But this'll be ours again one day," he declares pointing at Saint Giles.

I extend my hand again. "Christopher."

"Jim."

At the top of the Royal Mile is Edinburgh Castle, and our group breaks up to explore the castle, each at his own pace. Ray Olson and I head for the newest building (the highest in Edinburgh), the National Scottish War Memorial. Built in 1927 to honor the nearly 150,000 Scots who gave their lives in World War I, it is the most stirring war memorial I have seen. Don Livingston marvels at the waste of lives. I do not disagree, but, having once borne arms for a living, I felt a kinship with war dead I had not felt since visiting the cemetery at Belleau Wood 19 years before. There is no mistaking the memorial. The outside looks like a fortress, but the inside is a medieval cathedral. In red-leather notebooks that line the transept are the handwritten names of the fallen. I leaf through a few and trace my finger over the names.

As I walk out, I try to make eye contact with the soldiers standing guard in the chilly rain. They are not as still as U.S. Marines, I think. Nor are there places where Marines stand guard over a thousand years of their own history. The thinking Scot who confronts his history has a tragedy with which to wrestle. Most of Scottish history is Catholic history. There is no making the case that John Knox, much less Adam Smith, was really preserving the tradition. Scottish heroes are Catholic heroes: Saint Andrew, Saint Giles, Saint Margaret, Mary Stuart, Bonnie Prince Charlie. What Knox derailed, Walter Scott devoted his life to restoring; and, although he never poped, his descendants did, and Cardinal Newman offered Mass at the Catholic chapel at Abbotsford.

Tom Fleming calls Scott "an instinctive Jacobite." Fitting that he rests in Dryburgh Abbey. By the end of our Convivium, I have taken Sir Walter's side of things and resolved to read more. I could hardly be objective. "Objectivity," Tom points out in our last session, is one of the "Enlightenment's false moral principles."

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—Rhett Butler

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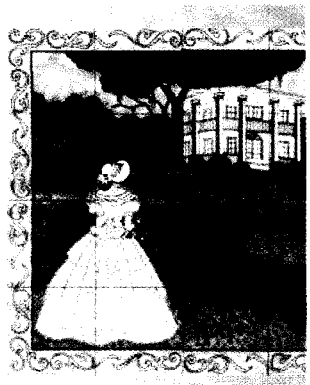

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